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THE
ARCHÆOLOGY OF ROME,

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PART XII.
THE CATACOMBS.

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THE CATACOMBS.

PREFACE TO THE CATACOMBS.

So many popular delusions are current on the subject of the Roman Catacombs, that it is difficult to obtain a hearing for a plain, unvarnished tale, in which the truth has been the only object sought for. These popular delusions are not confined to one party or one side, there are extremes both ways, and both are equally erroneous; they have unfortunately been made use of as weapons of polemical controversy, and the conclusions wished for on each side have been jumped at without proper examination of the foundations on which they are built. The same tests must be applied to the legends respecting them that are applicable to all other legendary history, and they cannot be received as authentic without examination.

The origin of the name of Catacomb, to begin with, is one of the questions long discussed and still undecided; but as the name is medieval only, and not that by which they were originally called, it does not seem very material: the original name was *Cemeteria*, and like many other words this had a double signification, one general, the other specific; the general name was that of a tract of ground applied for the purpose of interment, the specific name was a particular burial-vault, called also a *cubiculum*, which was usually sold in perpetuity to a particular family, without reference to the religion of its members. In one instance only, as far as has been ascertained, it was given to the holders of a particular office; the bishops of Rome in the third century had their own special cemetery or burial-vault, in the general burial-ground of the family of Calixtus. S. Anicetus, bishop and martyr, A.D. 174, and Bishop Soter, A.D. 189, were buried in this Catacomb; and Bishop Zephyrinus in his own cemetery, *near that* of Calixtus; on the Via Appia. S. Calixtus himself was not buried in the cemetery that bears his name, but in that of Calepodius on the Via Aurelia.

The Chronological Table of the Catacombs given in this Chapter,

brings out their history more clearly, and shews how frequently they have been restored; and a comparison of the fresco paintings in them with the mosaic pictures in the churches, which are all dated, shews that the paintings are not of so early a date as is commonly supposed; they generally belong to the latest restorations, the gilt glass vases found in them give the same evidence; few of them are of any early date, and many of them are not Christian. This is another indication that many of the catacombs were family burial-places. There were three catacombs for the Jews, and one for the Gnostics, or the worshippers of Mithra; and the last was connected with those of the family of Prætextatus.

There is a very general misunderstanding on the subject of sand-pits; those who are accustomed to English sand-pits only cannot easily understand how very different the Roman sand-pits are, from the peculiar geological formation of the Campagna of Rome, the whole of the subsoil of which consists of successive layers of tufa of different degrees of hardness; one hard layer is good for building-stone, another is only loose sand called Pozzolana, a third is between the two. The last kind of tufa is the best for the purpose of catacombs, but they are by no means all made in that material: some are in clay, others in river sand, which is quite different from the Pozzolana. The sand-pit roads were made by excavating, in a bed or layer of sand, a space sufficient to allow a horse and cart to go along, and the sand dug out to make the road was itself a sand-pit, but there are other pits at intervals also. These subterranean roads formed very convenient modes of access to the Catacombs, which were generally made in the harder bed of tufa under that level. In some cases the beds are alternate, the Pozzolana is found at two or three different levels. In the catacomb of S. Priscilla, which is five stories deep, two are sand-pit roads, one of which has been partially used for burials, the other has not. When these roads passed under the property of a family, whether their farm or their burial-place, the ground was the property of that family to any depth, and the name of *prædium* would apply equally to both.

We read of the body of a martyr being interred in the *prædium* of

a certain person, which means in his or her family burial-place. The endless variety of circumstances attending these burial-places, makes it very difficult to explain them clearly. Some of the sand-pit roads appear originally to have been open at the top, and have been only ancient foss-ways, fifteen feet below the level of the soil, as was usual in the time of the kings of Rome, and to have been arched over after the fashion had changed, and the roads were made on the level of the ground; but this was not until the second century of the Christian era, or subsequent to that time. It is not in the least probable, scarcely credible, that the beautiful brickwork of the time of Nero, with richly-worked cornices and pilasters, such as we find at the entrance of the catacomb of Prætextatus, was intended to be in a subterranean road for the use of carts for sand only. The level of the road near S. Urbano is not more than that depth below the surface that was usual for the foss-ways, and the same is the case in the cross-road near the Via Ardeatina, in which the catacomb of Nereus and Achilleus was made in the same manner. Neither is it at all probable that extensive burial-places would be made for Christians only in the year 50 of the Christian era, which is about the date of this brickwork.

In several instances the original entrance to a catacomb was near a sand-pit in the usual sense, others in a sand-pit road; the present entrances are almost all modern, merely cut through into the catacombs by accident, or for convenience; the original entrance, when found, is not used, and sometimes seems to be rather studiously avoided. In the catacomb of S. Priscilla the original entrance has a good flight of steps down to it; and a small piece of hand-rail of pierced marble, called a *transenna*, has been *restored* at the bottom of the steps, but the upper part of them, though open to the sky, is not made accessible. In the catacomb of S. Generosa, excavated in 1870 at the expense of the King of Prussia, in which the work was directed by Dr. Henzen and De Rossi, the entrance is not original. There are two old entrances, one through a chapel, the other close to a sand-pit on the opposite end.

In that of S. Agnes the original entrance was through a chapel, now the church; but that is closed, and another made near to it.

The principal corridor then passes under the church, and the great flight of steps leading down into it, then under part of the garden of the monks, and there is an exit from it in the Church, or Baptistery, or Mausoleum of S. Constantia. That building may be called by either of these names. It certainly is a mausoleum, for the sarcophagus stood in it; and it appears to have been a baptistery for baptism by immersion, for which purpose the central space has been made at a lower level, with steps down into it from the aisle round it. Properly speaking it is not a church, though it is usually so called, and is reckoned as one. In the interval between this and the church of S. Agnes, and which is now the garden, no less than five pagan tombs have been found, with an entrance from the lower chamber of each into the catacomb. The upper parts of the tombs are destroyed, but the two lower chambers remain in each case. It seems far more probable that the opening was made by members of the family in want of more space for interments, than merely for the search after the treasures supposed to have been buried in the catacombs. The latter is the theory of the priests and the monks, (as was mentioned in speaking about the Tombs). The communication between a tomb and the catacomb of Calixtus has also been mentioned.

Scores of Pagan inscriptions have been found in the Catacombs, and many of them remain there still. The theory of the priests and their followers is that all these were carried down to the Catacombs as old marble, to be used again; this appears to me extremely improbable. Why should the Catacombs be made a stone-mason's yard, to cut the stone to the size required, and to engrave the new name upon it on the reverse side? That this was *sometimes* done we see plainly, but it is far more probable that the new inscriptions were engraved before the slab of marble was carried down into the catacomb. In some cases all the back of a thick slab is left rough, and would have to be smoothed and polished before it could be engraved upon. At the edge of the slab also are remains of the cement or mortar for fastening it to the wall, with the rough side inwards, and the pagan inscription outwards.

That the early Christian martyrs were buried in the Catacombs

there is no doubt ; but the exaggeration of the numbers, that was made by the Roman-Catholic Church in the Middle Ages, has made many consider the whole history as apocryphal, which is to be regretted. There is a natural awe and reverence for these ancient burial-places, which would have more effect if it had not been for that exaggeration, and for the traffic that has been made out of them. The whole history of the catacomb of S. Peter, in the Vatican Hill, is very doubtful ; there are no remains of it visible. The floor of the old church appears to have been the burial-place, this is now the floor of the crypt. The old pavement, with the numerous tombs in it, was preserved when the present church was built over it on a much higher level. All those on the western side of the Tiber are in soil not suited for the purpose, and are therefore inferior to those on the eastern side of the river. The latter, indeed, is the district originally called *the catacombs*^a, extending from S. Paul's Church, on the bank of the Tiber, going along the line of the road that passes across the Via Ardeatina and the Via Appia, to the church of S. Urbano, on the edge of the cliff of the valley of the Caffarelli, in which runs the small river Almo. The church of S. Sebastian stands at an angle of the Via Appia and of this cross-road. There is no improbability in there having been a sand-pit road parallel to it all the way, and that an original entrance to all these catacombs was through S. Sebastian's, as is still the belief of the good monks there, although this is denied by De Rossi, whose opinion carries great weight. The inscription, according to which 174,000 martyrs were interred in this catacomb, would have more probability, if that number was meant to include the whole series of catacombs, to which this was an entrance. The church of S. Urbano may have been at another entrance at the east end of the series, and S. Paul's at the west end.

There are hundreds of miles of sand-pit roads undermining the Campagna of Rome in all directions, some still in use, others long disused and the entrances walled up. Some of them are probably as old as the foundation of Rome. The earliest commerce of which

^a The Circus of Maxentius is described at an early period as being *in the Catacombs*.

we have any record is the exchange of salt for Pozzalana sand at Rome, which is the highest point to which the Tiber is navigable, and the early Kings of Rome made salt marshes at the mouth of the Tiber, called Ostia, for the preparation of salt, and these are still in use. A sand-pit road is itself a sand-pit at the same time, as it is commonly made in a layer of Pozzalana sand of about ten feet thick, and the sand dug out in making the road was carried away as sand to be sold; there are pits at intervals also on each side of the road, but nearly on the same level.

Many visitors to Rome must have seen the numerous sand-carts going in and coming out of one of the subterranean roads near where the old Via Latina crosses the Via Appia Nova, at about two miles from Rome, in a valley near to the celebrated "Painted Tombs on the Via Latina." They might follow one of the carts for several miles. These roads were admirably calculated to give access to the catacombs, and to carry away the sand dug out in making them; for although the soft tufa in which these cemeteries are made, and in which tombs are cut in the side of the road, or path, or corridor, is harder than the Pozzalana beds, it is not so hard but what when pounded it becomes sand of the same description, and equally useful.

There is reason to believe that the extensive catacombs on the Via Salaria (*vetus* and *nova*), were also connected together by subterranean sand-pit roads, or subterranean passages of some kind; as they have not been excavated, there is no means of knowing exactly of what sort they were; but the opinion of the modern Fossore, Valentino and his son, who have had great experience, is that such communication existed in both cases. In the catacomb of S. Agnes, the tradition of the monastery is that there was a sand-pit road from the Ponte Nomentana parallel to the high road, nearly to Rome, and that this was used in making this underground cemetery. It is certain that there is a sand-pit in part of the present catacomb near S. Constantia, and a road leading to and from the pit, now choked up, so that the length of it cannot be ascertained. The present garden of the monks over the catacomb had evidently

been a public burying-place, or cemetery, before this catacomb was made; the ground is full of old tombs, the upper parts of which have been destroyed, but some of them have openings into the catacomb below.

The churches outside the walls, grand basilicas as some of them now are, were all originally chapels at the entrances of the catacombs, of which S. Agnes is perhaps the best example, the floor of the church being considerably below the level of the ground, and not much above the level of the upper corridor of the catacomb. The mausoleum of S. Helena was also a chapel at the entrance of that large catacomb; the tomb itself was vaulted over, and had an altar in it, so that it served for a church also. After the vault, which was made of pottery, fell, or was destroyed, a church was built in it, called after SS. Marcellinus and Peter, Roman martyrs, who suffered in the great persecution of the Christians under Diocletian, just before the time of Constantine and S. Helena. This fine catacomb is very extensive, and a considerable part of it has never been explored or excavated: permission might readily be obtained to do this if the funds were forthcoming: as the monks of S. Agnes found some portions of their catacomb which had escaped the spoliators, and in which the tombs had not been opened, it is probable that the same might be the case in that of S. Helena.

The magnificent church of S. Paul was originally a cemetery chapel only, at the entrance of another extensive catacomb, and perhaps at one end of a great series of catacombs (as has been said). That this was really the place where the body of S. Paul was buried after his martyrdom there is no reasonable ground to doubt; it is about half-a-mile from the place of his martyrdom, and a Lady Lucina is recorded to have received the body in her *prædium*, or her own family burial ground. There are three churches, or chapels, also at the *tre fontane*, the place where he was beheaded: we do not know that these had any immediate connection with the catacombs, although they are very near some of them. Two of the present churches are modern, that is, of the sixteenth or seventeenth century; one is of the twelfth; this is a large church, the history of which is curious: it was built by the pope of that period for S. Ber-

nard, when he was at Rome ; and the first monastery of the Cistercian order in Italy and in Rome was there. S. Bernard was the great Puritan of his day, and preached against the vanity of the rich decorations of churches that was then the fashion in Rome. The church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, so called from its extreme richness, was then just built, and was probably one of those against which S. Bernard had railed. The present church, built to please him, is as plain as it could well be made, which gives it the appearance of being a century earlier than it really is.

The fine church of S. Lorenzo, or S. Lawrence, was also originally a burial-chapel at the entrance of the great cemetery or catacomb of S. Cyriaca. The great reputation of the relics of S. Lawrence attracted so many worshippers, and such large donations, that the church has been more than once rebuilt on a more magnificent scale. There were at one period two churches, placed end to end, the two altars with their apses looking exactly the opposite way.

In the siege of Rome by the Goths under Vitiges, A.D. 537, the Catacombs were much damaged ; they were repaired and restored by the Popes soon afterwards, especially John III., A.D. 560—574, and many of the paintings are of the sixth century. A century later, the Lombards are stated to have had also a special spite against them, because the priests cleared such large revenues from the offerings of the pious to these shrines, and they alleged that they made war against the priests as the governors of Rome, and not against the Roman people. To save these valuable relics from the enemy, whose attacks were expected to be repeated, the bones were brought by wagon-loads to the churches within the walls, especially those then building, to which large subterranean chambers or crypts were built to receive them, as at S. Sylvester *in capite Via Lata*, Santa Prassede, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, the Santa Quattro Coronati, and several others. This has given rise to another popular delusion ; the people hearing of crowds of worshippers coming to touch the relics of the martyrs, have assumed that there were subterranean passages from these new crypts to the old Catacombs outside of the town, which is entirely an error. The name of Roma Sotterranea, given to the great work of Bosio and Arringhi, and continued by De Rossi, has helped to keep

up this popular delusion. Many people who do not know Rome, suppose that the Catacombs there are really *under* the city of Rome, instead of being two or three miles from it; and when they discover their error, still imagine that there must be subterranean passages from one to the other, as they are also told by the sacristans of the churches in Rome.

Another popular delusion is, that the fresco paintings in the Catacombs belong to the age of the martyrdoms, that is, the second and third centuries; this is entirely a mistake. De Rossi indeed is careful never to *assert* it, but the popular belief is so completely *implied* in his great work throughout, that the abridgers of it, both English and French, have asserted it without hesitation. The fact is, that fully three-fourths of the paintings belong to the latest restorations of the eighth and ninth centuries; and of the remaining fourth part, a considerable number are of the sixth century, painted originally in the time of John I., who was Pope A.D. 523, and who made one catacomb and restored two others; and the same paintings occur in all three, but some of them were damaged in the siege by the Lombards, soon after they were painted, and restored by John III., within the same century: traces of early restorations can be seen upon them. Still, there are many paintings of the fourth and fifth centuries, the earliest are the common Good Shepherd, and certain well-known Scriptural subjects. The history of Jonah was the fashion chiefly in the fifth century, and this is the most common of all the subjects in the Catacombs, and many of them have been restored in the eighth or ninth century. In the early catacombs of Prætextatus, and Nereus and Achilleus, there are paintings of the second and third centuries, but they are not of religious subjects at all, and might as well be the decoration of a Pagan tomb as of a Christian catacomb; they are the cultivation of the vine in Prætextatus, and the four seasons in S. Nereus; each season is easily recognised by the produce of the time of the year, and each has the attendant genius, which looks more like Pagan than Christian art. There are no religious subjects before the time of Constantine, and during the fourth and fifth centuries they are confined entirely to Scriptural subjects. There is not a figure of a saint or martyr before

the sixth century, and very few before the eighth, when they become abundant. Among these, in the catacomb of S. Calixtus is a figure of S. Cyprian, the African bishop, which has led the faithful Romans to believe that he was buried in that catacomb, whereas there is no doubt that he was a martyr, and was buried in Africa.

Respecting the inscriptions on the tombstones there is no such doubt, they have scarcely been touched, and are the most genuine things from the Catacombs; but few of them are before the third century, and by far the largest proportion are of the fourth and fifth, with a few of the sixth, and even later; the family burial-places continued to be in use as long as they were accessible. Unfortunately all the inscriptions have been removed from their places and arranged on the walls of museums, and cloisters, and monasteries; frequently there is no record of what catacomb they came from, but the great works of the successive Keepers of the Catacombs, and the Plates of Bosio, and the old Itineraries supply the localities of many of them, and they are highly-interesting records of the piety of the early Christians.

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CATACOMBS.

I. INTRODUCTION.

ON THE CATACOMBS IN GENERAL.

THE interest excited by the Roman Catacombs^a is so generally felt and acknowledged, that it is not necessary to call attention to them. As the burying-places of the early Christians in Rome, in which many of the earliest martyrs were interred, their importance has been acknowledged in all ages.

Pilgrimages to the tombs of the martyrs began to be made as early as the fourth century, as soon as the peace of the Church enabled Christians to shew their respect in this manner. The interest taken in them rapidly increased, and pilgrimages to the Catacombs became the fashion, which amounted to a mania in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries; and, like other things which became the fashion, it was abused, a great deal of insincerity and fraud was mixed with the sincere piety of the few, and the relics of the martyrs became an article of profitable trade.

It is well known that it was the custom of the ancient Romans

^a The word *Catacomb* has long been supposed to be derived from the Greek verb *κατακοιμάω*, signifying to lull, put to sleep, and *cubiculum* has the same meaning. *Cæmeterium* or *cemeterium* signifies both a burial-place in general, and a special burial-vault belonging to a particular family, or appropriated to the holders of a special office, such as the Bishops of Rome. *Loculus* is the place excavated for the body. *Ambulacrum* or *corridor* is the passage with *loculi* in the walls, and *cubicula* are the separate *crypts* opening out of it on either side.

There is, however, considerable difference of opinion as to the derivation of the name of *Catacomb*; the learned Hofmann gives a different account of it, deriving it from *κατά*, 'down,' and *cumba*, 'a hollow.' "*Catacumbæ* . . . Vocis etymon quod attinet, videtur composita ex præpositione *κατά*, quam suam fecisse Latinos recentiores supra

ostendimus, et voce *Cumba*. Cum enim ejusmodi polyandria et cæmeteria publica a cryptis in locis reconditis extiterint, quos istius ætatis Scriptores *cumbas* vocabant, videtur locus hic *catacumbas*, h. e. *ad cumbas*, *ad cryptas* vel *ad valles* appellatus esse." (Joh. Jac. Hofmanni *Lexicon Universale*, ad voc. *Catacumbæ*.)

Ducange mentions the same derivation, but suggests also another from *cata* and *tumbas*, 'underground tombs,' which exactly expresses the meaning, and this word is used by Gregory the Great (lib. iii. epist. 50) in certain manuscripts, though not in the printed editions. This name was originally applied to the valley in which the Circus of Maxentius was made.

In addition to the above, see "The Roman Catacombs," by Dr. Theodore Mommsen, in "The Contemporary Review," May, 1871, pp. 161—175.

to burn the bodies of persons of importance; but those of slaves and of the poor freemen^b were thrown into pits called *puticuli*, many of which are known to exist. The family of the Scipios formed an exception to the general custom of the Roman citizens. They were accustomed always to bury the bodies of their family in a catacomb, which still remains and is open for inspection, just within the Porta di S. Sebastiano, but outside of the old city. It is not quite on the usual plan in the later catacombs, some of the bodies being first placed in sarcophagi, and others introduced *endways* into cavities cut in the rock to receive them, instead of being laid sideways in the two sides of the passages, as was afterwards found generally more convenient; but this same plan is followed in part of the Jews' catacomb in the Via Appia, opposite to that of S. Calixtus, and in some others. There is no real distinction between a tomb and a catacomb^c. Under a tomb by the road-side there is frequently a catacomb, and over a catacomb there was commonly a tomb, sometimes made into a church or a burial chapel. There are frequently *columbaria* or places for the urns, containing the ashes of burnt bodies; and *arco-solia* or places for sarcophagi, or for bodies to be interred in the same tomb. Many such, of the first and second centuries, may be seen both in the neighbourhood of Rome and at Ostia. There is reason to believe that the excavation of new catacombs continued as late as the fifth century.

These distant cemeteries, three miles from the city, must have been very inconvenient; and it is supposed that as the people became Christian, they objected either to the burning of the bodies or casting them into pits^d, although the latter practice was continued, for those whose families were too poor to purchase a piece of ground for them, until our own days. It has only been discontinued since the year 1860.

The Catacombs probably came into use gradually during the first and second centuries. At first only *loculi*, or mere graves in stone or sand excavated out of the rock on the sides of the subterranean sand-pit roads, were used; then *arco-solia*, or graves under arches for

^b Horatii, Sat. i. 8, ver. 8 seqq.

^c This celebrated tomb of the Scipios is the earliest catacomb in Rome; it was discovered in 1780, and inscriptions were then found, which were unfortunately all removed. It was described, and the inscriptions, ten in number, were printed by E. Q. Visconti in the *Antologia Romana*, and reprinted by Piranesi in 1785, and in

Lumisden's "Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome," 4to. London, 1797. De Rossi notes that there are no *loculi* in the sides, but *arco-solia* and *cubicula* for sarcophagi only, and calls this tomb a Hypogeum.

^d At the places called "Cento-Celle" and "Torre dei Schiavi," there are numerous tombs with *columbaria*, and there are said to be pits or *puticuli* also.

two persons, were brought into use ; then chambers for family burial-vaults were excavated, with entrances from the sand-pit roads ; then these were made with distinct entrances, independent of the sand-pit roads altogether, as we see by the flight of steps descending into them ; but these are generally of later date. Signor de Rossi^e has shewn that, at least in one instance, the arch of an *arco-solium*, an arch of the first century, under which the stone coffin or sarcophagus of a martyr had been placed, was afterwards used as the entrance to a chamber excavated behind it ; and the sarcophagus was removed from under the arch and carried to the back of the chamber, in order that other bodies might be interred near the martyr. This has been discovered in one of his recent excavations in the catacomb of Prætextatus, and is probably a clue to several others where the same process has been carried on.

We know that in the case of the *columbaria* for another mode of interment at the same period, some were the property of particular families ; others were public, and the niches for urns were sold separately or in groups : there are some inscriptions recording these facts. In the case of the Catacombs, it appears to be evident that the same system was carried on ; and the custom of interring the whole body in a decent manner in a grave excavated for it in the side walls of the subterranean corridors, or in small family chapels on each side of them, began to be common before the Christian era, or about that period. As in the *columbaria*, so in the Catacombs ; some belonged to particular families, others were public.

That an idea of special sanctity was attached to these burial-places of the early Christians, seems evident from many passages in authors as early as the fourth century. S. Jerome^f describes thus his visit to them in his youth :—

“ When I was a boy, receiving my education at Rome, I and my schoolfellows used on Sundays to make the circuit of the sepulchres of the Apostles and Martyrs. Many a time, too, did we go down into the Catacombs. These are excavated deep in the earth, and contain, on either hand as you enter, the bodies

^e See De Rossi, *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*.

^f “ Dum essem Romæ puer, et a liberalibus studiis erudirer, solebam cum cæteris ejusdem ætatis et propositi, diebus Dominicis, sepulcra Apostolorum et Martyrum circumire ; crebroque cryptas ingredi, quæ in terrarum profundo defossæ, ex utraque parte ingredientium per parietes habent corpora sepulcorum, et ita obscura sunt omnia, ut prope-modum illud Propheticum compleatur :

‘Descendant in infernum viventes,’ et raro desuper lumen admissum, horrorem temperet tenebrarum ; ut non tam fenestram, quam foramen demissi luminis putes ; rursumque pedetentim acceditur, et cæca nocte circumdatis, illud Virgilianum proponitur :

“ Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent.”
(S. Hieronymus, Comment. in Ezech., lib. xii. cap. 40.)

of the dead buried in the wall. It is all so dark there, that the language of the Prophet seems to be fulfilled:—"Let them go down quick into hell." Only occasionally is light let in to mitigate the horror of the gloom, and then not so much through a window as through a hole &c."

He speaks also of the shafts called *luminaria*, and says that it reminded him of a passage in Virgil:—

" A nameless horror makes that region drear,
The very silence fills the soul with fear."

Jerome, who wrote his Commentary on Ezekiel about A.D. 380, was born in 331.

The popularity of the fathers of the Church in the fourth century, who by their writings endeavoured to stir up the zeal of the Christians of their day, probably led to the exaggeration which followed. Prudentius, the Christian poet of the same period, by his enthusiastic hymns^b contributed to fan the flame, and the priests of the following centuries were not slow to profit by it.

There is a natural reverence for them which would be allowed by all Christians, if it were not for the exaggeration of modern Rome, and the impatience felt at the bones found here being made an article of lucrative traffic. This led to much exaggeration as to the number of martyrs interred in the Catacombs, until eventually the people were taught to believe that *all* the people interred in them were martyrs. That the number of martyrs in Rome has been grossly exaggerated, is evident from contemporary writers, such as Lactantius and Eusebius; the probability is that they should be counted by tens, rather than by thousands¹. During the intervals

^s The translation is Mr. Burgon's, in his "Letters from Rome," &c. London, 1862, 8vo.

^b "Haud procul extremo culta ad pomeria vallo

Mersa latebrosis crypta patet fo-

veis :

Hujus in occultum gradibus via prona

reflexis

Ire per anfractus luce latente docet.

Primas namque fores summo tenus in-

trat hiatu,

Illustratque dies limina vestibuli.

Inde, ubi progressu facili nigrescere

visa est

Nox obscura, loci per specus am-

biguum,

Occurrunt cæsis immissa foramina

tectis,

Quæ jacent claros antra spuer ra-

dios.

Quamlibet ancipites texant hinc inde

recessus,

Arcta sub umbrosis atria porticibus ;

Attamen excisi subter cava viscera

montis

Crebra terebrato fornice lux penetrat.

Sic datur absentis per subterranea solis

Cernere fulgorem, luminibusque frui."

(Aurel. Prudentii Peristephanon,

hymn. xi. ; Passio Hippolyti Mar-

tyris. For an English version of

this hymn, see Section vii.)

¹ There is an able essay on this sub-

ject by the learned Henry Dodwell,

appended to the Oxford edition of

S. Cyprian, and also printed separately.

See Cypriani Opera, ed. J. Fell, Oxon.

1682, fol., and Dissertationes Cypri-

anicæ, ab H. Dodwello. 8vo., Oxoniæ,

1684. Dissertatio XI., De paucitate

Martyrum, pp. 217—351.

between the times of persecution, the Christians enjoyed as much liberty as any other class of the population; many of them held the highest offices, and this continued to be the case throughout the first three centuries. S. Paul mentions the Christians in Cæsar's household, and Eusebius relates, in his time also, that Christians were entrusted with the government of provinces^k. The persecution under Diocletian and Maximian, A.D. 286—305, is described as consisting of "edicts to tear down the churches to the foundation, and to destroy the sacred Scriptures by fire." Other edicts ordered that the "prelates should be committed to prison and constrained to offer sacrifice to the gods." That several eminent saints met with their martyrdom for refusing to do this, is also recorded by Eusebius^l; but the whole narrative implies that the number who died in Rome was not large, and some of these "illustrious martyrs were domestics in the imperial palace." Lactantius also mentions that Prisca, the wife of Diocletian, and his daughter Valeriana, were Christians^m. The terms of the edict revoking those for the persecution, shew that they had not been intended to go the length of taking the lives of the Christians—that this was an exceptional abuse of their powers. In the earlier persecutions also, the number of lives sacrificed in Rome was comparatively small. Eusebius is a very conscientious historian in relating what fell under his own observation, but somewhat credulous of hearsay from others; and to swell the number of martyrs, he is obliged to relate accounts of what happened in distant provinces, Phœnice, Egypt, and Phrygia, all which accounts may be exaggerated as to the numbers killed. Dodwell sifts the whole history of the martyrdoms of the first three centuries, and endeavours to shew that the same exaggeration, as to the number of martyrs, prevails in the whole of these legendary stories.

The indications of martyrdom which were formerly relied upon prove on investigation to be of doubtful authority. The palm-branch is found abundantly on early tombstones in the Jews' catacomb, but the Jews had many martyrs. The small vial containing the remains of a red fluid, supposed to be blood, has been tested by able chemists, under the direction of Chr. C. Jos. Bunsen, and more recently again under a true and enlightened member of the Roman Churchⁿ, and is found certainly *not to be blood*, but probably wine. This was a Pagan custom very likely to be followed by the

^k Eusebii Hist. Eccles., lib. viii. rum, cap. 15.

cap. 1.

^l Ibid., cap. 3, 4, 6.

^m Lactantius, de Mortibus Persecuto-

ⁿ Sir John Acton, Bart., now Lord Acton.

Christians as a custom only, without attaching any particular meaning to it.

The tombs of martyrs had great influence on the history of the Catacombs: hundreds of persons sought to have the bodies of their friends interred in the same cemetery, and large prices were paid for a family burying-place near a martyr. A portion of ground sufficient to build a *cubiculum*, or family vault, was purchased in perpetuity of the proprietors of the ground, and became the *bonâ fide* property of that family. The name of *cœmeterium* was applied to such a family vault equally as to the whole burying-place, cemetery, or catacomb.

They are never described in any ancient documents by any other name than *cœmeteria*; some modern writers use the word *catacumbæ* as synonymous. We are expressly told by Ciaconius^o that the modern name for *cubiculum* is *capella*, and the *cubicularius* established by Leo I. is now called *capellanus* or chaplain. We have frequent mention of the making of *oratoria* and *cubicula* in the Catacombs, or at the entrances of the Catacombs, but nothing to shew that they were used for any other purpose than as burial-chapels for the funeral service, and for the worship of the relics of martyrs. Some of the *cubicula*, or chapels, were probably used as schoolrooms in times of persecution; one or two have a stone bench round them, with the *cathedra* or seat for the bishop or teacher.

One of the greatest difficulties of the archæologist always arises from the use of particular words in a limited technical sense, instead of the more general and extended sense in which they are commonly understood. This appears to be the case with the words *prædium* and *cœmeterium* in reference to the Catacombs. The *prædia* of the early Christian matrons may have been farms only in the ordinary sense of the word, relating to the surface of the soil only; but it seems more probable that this name at least included the subsoil, whether quarries, sand-pits, or catacombs. In either case, the ground being undermined by long galleries out of which the stone or sand had been carried, the subsequent employment of which for the purpose of a burying-place would be a most profitable employment of it, the excavations being naturally afterwards continued for the purpose only of interments. It may also include the family tomb,

^o "Hic etiam constituit et addidit supra sepulchra Apostolorum ex clero Romano custodes qui dicuntur cubicularii, quos modo dicimus capellanos. Cubiculum enim idem erat apud anti-

quos, quod hodie apud nos capella." (Alph. Ciaconius, Vitæ et res gestæ Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium, &c. Romæ, 1677, folio, Leo I. vol. i. col. 307, c.)

with the area in which it stood, which was often quite large enough to have had a catacomb made under it.

To purchase a piece of ground by the side of the road as a family burying-place in perpetuity, was always expensive and could only be indulged in by wealthy families. A piece of ground by the side of or under an old sand-pit road was far less costly, the land being of no value for other purposes. For this reason the Catacombs were extensively made in them, and were used by the middle and lower classes, chiefly by the Christians, but not exclusively so. The more wealthy Christians paid for a *loculus*, or place for the body of a poor fellow-Christian, and burial-clubs were established for conducting the funerals with decency. Sometimes, probably, the clubs also purchased the *loculi*. Several inscriptions recording the purchase of a particular *loculus*, or *cubiculum*, have been found in the Catacombs; but as the officials of modern times have removed all the inscriptions from their places, this part of their history has been rendered obscure on the pretext of preserving them, which could have been done as effectually by keeping the doors locked, and establishing a toll for entering them. A great part of the interest, and nearly the whole of the historical value of the Catacombs, has been destroyed by the want of a chronological arrangement, and by the inscriptions having been collected in museums, arranged and classed according to the objects of the authorities. They thus possess very little interest compared with what they would have done if left in their places. An inscription of the second or third century is of very different value from one of the eighth or ninth; but it may be convenient for certain objects to mix them together without distinction. In the same manner the lamps and glass cups which were found in the Catacombs belonging to particular graves, have all been removed to museums, and arranged according to the fancy or the convenience of the custodians. These would also have been of tenfold interest and value, if left as they were found. The catacomb of the Jews was long one of the most interesting and important of the Catacombs, because there many of the inscriptions and emblems were allowed to remain in the walls.

In the catacomb excavated in 1868, at the college of the Arvales, five miles from Rome, on the road to Porto, near the bank of the Tiber, the graves have been left, in great part, unopened, under the direction of De Rossi^p, the head officer of that department of

^p The Cavaliere G. B. De Rossi is the well-known author of a very learned and important book on the Catacomb

of S. Calixtus, in two folio volumes, which is intended to be carried on. He is also the author of a great work or

the Pontifical Government. The tombs or *loculi* in the corridors are closed by tiles, usually three, or by slabs of stone or marble, well secured with mortar to the rock, out of which the grave is cut; in this mortar are several *graffiti* or inscriptions scratched in it when it was wet, and this being Roman mortar, made with lime used the same day that it was burnt, is everlasting. These names are consequently as fresh as if inscribed yesterday by the hands of the surviving relatives of the deceased. Further particulars about them will be found in the account of that catacomb (Sect. v.), which had been opened by Bosio in the sixteenth century, but entirely forgotten. In the catacomb of S. Cyriaca (Sect. vii.), near the Campo Santo, which is of much earlier date than the one at the college of the Arvales, many of the graves or *loculi* are also left unopened.

In the excavations made in 1870 by the monks of S. Agnes, the small portion of the catacomb which immediately adjoins the church was cleared out, and in this instance also the graves are left unopened¹; but these are exceptional cases, the rule having been to strip the Catacombs entirely.

The burial-clubs of modern Rome are a traditional copy of those of the early Christians, and perhaps Pagans also; for funeral processions were quite as important in Pagan times as in Christian². The very curious costumes worn by these burial-clubs are probably of very early origin; and particularly the covering the face with a mask or a hood, with holes for the eyes only, seems to mark a very early period, although it is now followed in many Roman Catholic countries. The custom of following the body to the gate of the city only, and leaving the actual interment to the officials, is more like a Pagan than a Christian one. The English custom of having the family and mourning friends assembled round the

Christian Inscriptions, and the editor of an excellent *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*. I have to acknowledge my obligations to this gentleman, both as a learned author and as the custodian of the Catacombs, where he kindly obtained permission for me to study, and to have photographs taken in 1868 and 1869. This permission was retracted by the Cardinal Vicar in 1870. The excellent account of the Catacombs by Canon Venables, in Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, is mainly grounded on De Rossi's work, as the best authority, but any Roman Catholic work on the subject must be re-

ceived with caution by Anglicans.

¹ See the Catacomb of S. Agnes.

² For much valuable information on this subject, see the great work of De Rossi, and the abridgement of it by Dr. Northcote and Mr. Brownlow (8vo. London, 1869); also "Les Nouvelles Etudes sur les Catacombes Romaines, par le Comte Desbassayns de Richemont." (Paris, 1870, 8vo.) These clubs were formed into colleges, some of which appear to have been Christian in the third century. They were entitled to certain privileges, which were open to the Christian equally as to the Pagan.

grave, and hearing the last awful words, "Earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust—in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life," is almost unknown in Rome. The body is displayed with great pomp in the church or in the cloister, and is carried from it with great ceremony through the streets; but it is usually carried to the gate only, not attended to the grave.

The custom of having funeral feasts at the time of the funeral, and on the anniversaries of it, which we know to have been usual with the ancient Romans, was continued by the early Roman Christians also, and the family was probably assembled in the family vault or *cubiculum*. The paintings so frequently found in them representing a feast, and called by some the marriage-feast at Cana, by others an agape, are more probably intended for the family funeral feast. This is also said by some to be the last supper of Christ upon earth, when He partook of the broiled fish with *six of the Apostles*, as described in the last chapter of S. John's Gospel. In some instances the representations agree well with this, in other cases they do not. In S. John's account there were *seven disciples* present on that occasion; some of the paintings represent six and others twelve, besides the central figure of Christ Himself, but never seven.

Many of the paintings are probably intended for portraits of the persons interred, surrounded by paintings of Scriptural subjects, as indications of the faith of the deceased, who is usually represented in the oriental attitude of prayer, and attired only in a dress closely resembling the surplice and stole. The surplice is sometimes white, the emblem of purity, sometimes red, as washed in the blood of Christ; and the stole is the emblem of servitude, the yoke of Christ, over the shoulders*. In late examples, and in the case of ladies of wealthy families, the surplice sometimes has an ornamental fringe to it, and the stole is also embroidered; for men it is always plain, and the costume of the modern English clergy is very nearly a copy of that of the *oranti* in the Catacombs, and the Apostles†, who are represented in the same costume. The greater part of the paintings

* This explanation of the symbolical meaning of the dress of the early Christians is given in the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* by Durandus, who wrote in the twelfth century. The paintings in the Catacombs, however, appear often intended to represent only the black border to the dress usual in the costume of the period. In other cases, the arms appear to pass under a loose

strip of black, corresponding to our stole, and this does not always descend to the edge of the garment.

† The Apostles introducing the saints to Christ, in the mosaic pictures in the churches, from the sixth to the ninth centuries, are represented in a costume closely resembling the surplice and stole.

now remaining in the Catacombs are of the time of Popes Hadrian, Leo III., and Paschal I., or of the eighth and ninth centuries. Nearly the whole of them were then repaired and the paintings renewed, but the old ideas were probably continued; as we cannot be certain of this, however, they are of no authority for any earlier history. Among the most celebrated of the paintings in the Catacombs are those in S. Pontianus, on the Via Portuensis; these are frescoes on plaster upon brick walls of the eighth century, these walls being part of the repairs of Pope Paschal. These paintings include the celebrated Baptism of Christ, and the two fine heads of Christ, with the cross in the nimbus. Those in S. Priscilla, and SS. Nereus and Achilleus, belong to the restoration of Pope John I., A.D. 523. The drawing and many of the subjects are identical.

The soft tufa rock has in many of the other catacombs also to be supported by walls, generally of brick, but sometimes with stone doorways; these walls and doorways are the only bits of architecture about the Catacombs by which we can judge of their dates. The earliest which are in the tomb or catacomb of the Scipios, are of the time of the Republic, and are dated by the mouldings of the arch at the original entrance, and by the sarcophagi found in them. The next are in the catacomb of the Jews, part of which is of the time of Augustus, another part of the time of Constantine, shewing that it continued in use for three or four centuries, and perhaps a longer period. Most of the tombs there bear marks of great poverty. The next catacombs in point of date, so far as can be judged by the architecture, are those of Prætextatus, and of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, in which there are fine doorways and cornices of moulded brick of the first or second century. Most of the others which have any architectural character at all are of the fourth century, of the time of Constantine, or subsequent to it. That of S. Agnes, which is one of the finest, is chiefly of that period. That of SS. Thraso and Saturninus on the Via Salaria, has brick walls of the sixth century at the foot of the stairs and at the end of the long corridor. The catacomb of S. Calixtus has been so thoroughly *restored* in modern times, that it has lost all genuine character, especially that part which is periodically illuminated; the other part has paintings of the eighth century.

Of the inscriptions found in the Catacombs, and collected in the churches, cloisters, and museums, very few are earlier than the fourth century, and scarcely any earlier than the third. The earlier ones are very short and rude, evidently belonging to poor people only. Sometimes they are little more than scratched upon the marble, or

on the plaster at the edges of the piece of marble, or painted on the tile which encloses the mouth of the grave; but the names are frequently accompanied by Christian emblems, such as the *ἰχθῦς* or fish^a, which is the most common as representing the name and titles of our Lord, or the chalice, with two birds, said to be an emblem of souls, or the dove with the olive-branch, or a palm-branch. The latter is usually called the mark of a martyr. Many of them have the Labarum of Constantine, which shews they cannot be before his time, and many are much later.

The lamps and glasses found in the Catacombs, but unfortunately never left there, have the same emblems as the inscriptions, and the same subjects as the paintings. Many of them are clearly of the fifth and sixth centuries, and very few, if any, earlier than the fourth. The plates to Buonarroti and to Padre Garrucci's learned work enable us now to compare them with other paintings in works of art of which the dates are ascertained. Many of the subjects engraved on the glasses are evidently Pagan; the idea that they were all chalices, or all belonged to priests or martyrs, will not bear examination.

Many Pagan sarcophagi have been found in the Catacombs, and fragments of them remain in many instances with Pagan sculptures upon them. In the Jews' catacomb, there is a Pagan sarcophagus perfect in one of the *cubicula* or family vaults. Attempts have been made to explain these away as having been ready-made articles, kept ready for use, and bought without considering the character of the sculpture upon them; but such people as the Jews, so rigorous in

^a **ΙΧΘΥΣ**, 'fish,' evinced, by the five letters wherewith it is composed, the initials of the words *Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτῆρ*, which mean Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. Owing to that circumstance, the name as well as the image of a fish had become, by a process analogous to that of the ancient Egyptians, a sort of phonetic sign appropriated to express a complete series of consecrated words; but it is asserted that a similar representation of a fish (referred to a totally different order of ideas, it is true) was also used on the funeral monuments of antiquity. The passages on this topic have been collected by Fabretti, *Inscript.*, c. viii. p. 569; by Father Allegranza, *Spiegazione e Riflessioni sopra alcuni sagri monumenti antichi di Milano*, 4to., Milano, 1737, pp. 117, 118; and especially by Father Costadoni, in his dissertation entitled, *Del Pesce, Simbolo di Gesu Cristo, presso gli antichi Cristiani*.

Cf. *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1870, pp. 50—65.

Other Christian symbols, which are of very frequent occurrence in the catacomb pictures, are mentioned in the Apostolical Constitutions, which are usually referred to the third and fourth centuries.

"Præterea credimus resurrectionem fore vel ob ipsam Domini resurrectionem. Ipse enim est qui Lazarum . . . resuscitavit. . . . Qui Jonam viventem eduxit de ventre ceti . . . qui tres pueros ex fornace Babylonia, et Danielem ex ore leonis, is non carebit viribus ad suscitandum nos quoque. . . . Qui Paralyticum sanum in pedes statuit . . . et cæco a nativitate, quod deficiebat . . . reddidit, is ipse nos quoque ad vitam revocabit. Qui ex quinque panibus et duobus piscibus quinque millia virorum satiavit . . . et ex aqua vinum confecit . . . item ex morte sublatos vitæ reddet." (*Constit. Apost.*, lib. v. cap. 7.)

the observance of their rites, were not in the least likely to be so careless as this as to the resting-place of their dead. It is far more probable, as indeed appears in many ways, that these apparent anomalies arose from intermarriages, and that the claims of family were considered stronger than those of religion in the matter of burial, as all differences of opinion cease in the grave. If a Jewess was married to a Christian or to a Pagan, her family interred her in the family vault, and probably her husband and children also, to whatever religion they belonged. The family vaults, or *cubicula* or *cœmeteria*, bear evident marks of having been used by many successive generations; and when there was no longer any place for more bodies either in the walls or in the floor, the painted vault above was broken through, and bodies were inserted there over the rest of the family. This is the case both in the Jewish and the Christian catacombs.

In a catacomb connected with that of Prætextatus, there are Gnostic paintings in one part, shewing that it was a burying-place for that sect, or, as some say, for the worshippers of the god Mithra. The assumption always made by the Roman Church that the Catacombs were *exclusively* Christian, or that a distinction was made after death between the bodies of Christians and of Pagans, requires to be examined before it is assented to by those who seek the truth only, without regard to any preconceived theory or traditions. That *some* of the Catacombs were Christian is probable, because they belonged to Christian families; but it is very doubtful whether they were rigidly exclusive. So many Pagan inscriptions, Pagan glasses, and Pagan paintings have been found in them, that the idea of strict exclusiveness can hardly be maintained. That of S. Calixtus was the burial-vault of the Bishops of Rome in the third century, and it is therefore probable that *this* Catacomb was exclusively Christian.

In the *columbaria* remaining in the tomb of the servants of Livia Augusta, or "the Officers of Cæsar's Household," a mile from the Porta di S. Sebastiano, on the Via Appia, five inscriptions of the same names as persons mentioned by S. Paul in his Epistles have been found, with the urns containing their ashes, so that if these really are the same persons, the early Christians appear to have sometimes had their bodies burned in the same manner as the Pagans*. It may have been as much a matter of fashion

* On this interesting subject see Dr. Lightfoot's "Commentary on Philip-
pians," pp. 169, 176, and his article in

the "Journal of Philology," 1857. He does not say more than that there is some probability of the identity of these

as of religion ; the custom of burying the body instead of burning it was gradually coming in during the first and second centuries, and was pretty well established by the third. No doubt the Christian doctrine of *the Resurrection of the Body* had considerable influence in producing this change, but it did not take place all at once ; it was gradual. Many tombs of the first two or three centuries have both *columbaria* or places for cinerary urns, and other places for sarcophagi, sometimes *arco-solia* ; in other instances, only platforms for the sarcophagi. Of the inscriptions found in the seventeenth century in the Catacombs, which are published by Bol-detti and others, a large proportion are Pagan, and the ingenious attempt to explain away this fact—the assumption that they were all brought there to be engraved on the other side with the names of Christians—is extremely improbable as a general rule ; although it is clear that they *were so engraved in some instances*, it does not follow that these Christian inscriptions, called *palimpsests*, were actually engraved in the Catacombs themselves, and the probability is quite the other way.

persons. Others would go further, and say that for the more rare names which he cites there is great reason to believe

they are the same persons. Some extracts, with the inscriptions, are given in our Chapter on Tombs.

II. CHRONOLOGY.

ACCORDING to the legends of the Roman Church, S. Peter was buried in the Temple of Apollo¹ on the Via Aurelia, near where he was crucified, and near the Palace of Nero on the Vatican². As many as eleven of the early bishops of Rome are stated to have been buried near to him.

All these rest on the same authority, that of Damasus in the fourth century; there are no earlier records extant. It appears extraordinary that the early Christians should have been allowed to have a burial-place for their bishops under the Temple of Apollo. On the other hand, there appears some reason to believe that the catacomb of S. Generosa was allowed to be made in the sacred grove of the College of the Arvales at a later period; but Signor de Rossi considers that this catacomb was made about fifty years after the college was suppressed³.

The following are a few of the illustrious dead who are recorded to have been buried in the Roman Catacombs, or in the burial-vaults under S. Peter's:—

S. Linus, first or second Bishop of Rome, A.D. 67, under Vespasian.	was the last Pope buried in the Catacombs.
S. Anacletus, fifth Bishop, A.D. 103, under Trajan.	The Emperor Valentinian, A.D. 366.
Leo I. the Great, A.D. 461.	The Emperor Honorius, A.D. 423.
Gregory the Great, who first undertook the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, A.D. 604.	The Princess Mary, daughter of Stilicho, and wife of the Emperor Honorius.
Gregory II., A.D. 731.	The Emperor Otho II., A.D. 983.
Gregory III., A.D. 741.	Ceadwalla, a king of the Western Saxons.
Leo IX. He died A.D. 1050, and	Canred, a king of the Mercians.
	Offa, a king of the Anglo-Saxons.
	Ina, a king of the Anglo-Saxons, with Queen Ethelburga, his wife.

A large number of Christian inscriptions have been collected by the Commendatore de Rossi, as superintendent of the Catacombs, and arranged in museums in the order which he thought best; he has also published a part of them in his great work on Christian Inscriptions, of which the first volume only has appeared. Of these *dated* inscriptions only one is of the first century, and two are of the second,

¹ "S. Petrus . . . qui sepultus est Via Aurelia in templo Apollinis, juxta locum ubi crucifixus est, juxta palatium Neronianum in Vaticano, juxta territorium

triumphale." (Anastasius I.)

² See Via Cornelia, the Vatican.

³ See Via Portuensis, S. Generosa.

both from *loculi* in the crypt of Lucina, now part of the catacomb of S. Calixtus. Of the third century three more are from the same crypt, and three others from other parts of the catacomb of S. Calixtus, two from that of S. Hermes; the rest are all single, and from different catacombs.

It by no means follows that the paintings are of the same age as the inscriptions on the tombstones; on the contrary, the greater part of the frescoes appear to have been executed at a much later period. There *are* some of the second or third centuries, but they are not Christian nor Scriptural; they are either merely ornamental, or they are probably Pagan, such as the Four Seasons, with their winged Genii, Oceanus, Orpheus, Mercury, Pegasus. If we may judge by comparison with the drawings of the mosaic pictures in S. Constantia, A.D. 320, and S. Maria Maggiore, A.D. 450, very little of the art is earlier than the fifth century, and the Christian and Scriptural subjects do not generally begin before the time of Constantine; unless possibly some of the very numerous "Good Shepherds" *may be* before that time. The greater part are much later.

The brickwork at the entrance of some of the early Catacombs, as at those of Prætextatus, SS. Nereus and Achilleus, and S. Domitilla, is of the first century, some of it of the time of Nero, before there were many Christians to be buried. They were family burying-places; and if the families happened to be Christians, the persons interred would be so. But in case of inter-marriages, the claim of family would not be lost by a difference of religion: the Roman laws would not have permitted this, nor is there any reason to believe that there was any wish for such exclusion at that period.

The dates of the catacombs which follow are the periods at which *they were made or restored*^b, and the paintings *generally* belong to the latest *restorations*. They are chiefly taken from the Pontifical Registers, sometimes called the *Liber Pontificalis*^c, from which Anastasius, the Pontifical librarian in the ninth century, derived his Annals. They had previously been used by S. Jerome.

^b For the early bishops, see Sect. v., S. Peter's at the Vatican. That catacomb is now destroyed. See also Sect. vii., church of S. Alexander on the Via Nomentana. In the third century, the bishops of Rome were interred in a crypt provided for that purpose on the Via Appia, now part of the catacomb of S. Calixtus. There is reason to believe that this was one of the

earliest of the Catacombs.

^c "The *Liber Pontificalis* was . . . formed out of documents more ancient than itself, like the *Martyrologium Hieronymi*, and there had been at least three versions or editions of it before the days of Anastasius," &c. (Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotterranea*, pp. 20, 21.)

A.D. 174. S. Anicetus, bishop and martyr, is said to have been buried in the cemetery of Calixtus. (Anastas., 11.)

A.D. 189. Bishop Soter in the same. (Id., 13.)

A.D. 217. Bishop Zephyrinus was buried in his own cemetery, near the cemetery of S. Calixtus, on the Via Appia, on the 7th of September^d. It is evident that *cemetery* here means his own family burial-vault, near to the large cemetery of the family of Calixtus, to which the bishop of that name, who was his immediate successor, belonged, and that Calixtus made another burial-vault in this cemetery for the Bishops of Rome. (Id., 16.)

A.D. 222. The cemetery or catacomb of Calepodius is on the Via Aurelia, three miles from Rome^e, where S. Calixtus was interred; but this is mentioned as a burying-place in use, not as being then made. It is believed to be the one near the church of S. Pancratius on the Janiculum. S. Calixtus also made another cemetery on the Appian Road, the same that is still called by his name.

A.D. 230. Urban was a martyr, and was buried in the cemetery of Prætextatus, according to the legends of the Church^f, with the other martyrs of the same period, SS. Cæcilia, Tiburtius, Valerianus, and Maximus. They were all beheaded, and at night their bodies were collected by Lucina, with the clergy and her family, and buried on her property, where now is the catacomb of S. Calixtus^g. (Id., 17.)

A.D. 235. Calpurnius Pontianus was buried in the cemetery of Calixtus by Fabianus, who had brought the bodies from Sardinia. (Id., 20.)

A.D. 236. Bishop Anteros, or Antherus, was buried in the cemetery of S. Calixtus^h. (Id., 19.)

A.D. 249. Fabianusⁱ . . . caused many buildings to be erected for

^d "Qui etiam sepultus est in cœmeterio suo, juxta cœmeterium Calixti, Via Appia, vii. Kalend. Septembris." (Anastas., 16.)

^e "Qui etiam sepultus est in cœmeterio Calepodii, Via Aurelia, miliario tertio, pridie idus Octobris; et fecit aliud cœmeterium Via Appia, ubi multi sacerdotes et martyres requiescunt, quod appellatur usque in hodiernum diem cœmeterium Calixti," &c. (Anastas., 17.)

^f "Qui etiam sepultus est in cœmeterio Prætextati, Via Appia." (Id., 18.)

^g Ciaconius, *Vitæ, et res gestæ Pontificum Romanorum, &c.*, vol. i. col. 146, A. Anastas., 18, mentions only Valerianus, who was betrothed to S. Cæcilia, and many others.

^h Anast., 19, 20. Ci. Ciacon., col.

152, A. According to the legendary history, Anteros was interred in this catacomb, with many other martyrs, by the hands of S. Fabianus, then a priest, who became his successor; his body was afterwards removed to the church of S. Sixtus (S. Sisto Vecchio), on the Via Appia, in A. D. 595 (?), with those of several other saints and martyrs.

ⁱ Anast., 21. Fabianus's body was translated to the church of S. Silvester and S. Martin by Sergius II.

The inscriptions on the tombstones of Eutychanus, Anteros, Fabianus, and Cornelius, were found by Signor de Rossi, in the *cubiculum* of the Bishops of Rome, in the cemetery of Calixtus, and photographs of these inscriptions are to be had.

cemeteries^k. These were probably burial-chapels at the entrances of the Catacombs, of which there are many remains; some of them have portions that *may be of* this period.

A.D. 252. Cornelius was buried in a crypt near to the cemetery of S. Calixtus.

According to the legends, in his time, the Lady Lucina (or an enlightened lady?) raised the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul at night, and placed that of S. Paul in her property on the Via Ostense; but Cornelius put that of S. Peter near the place where he was crucified, between the bodies of the bishops in the Temple of Apollo, on the Monte Aureo, in the Vatican Palace of Nero, on the 6th of July. (Anastasius, xxii. 22^l.) S. Paul suffered martyrdom by beheading; his body was collected at night by the same Lady Lucina, and buried in a crypt on her property, near the cemetery of Calixtus on the Via Appia^m.

A.D. 253. Lucius was buried in the cemetery of Calixtus. (Anastas., xxiii. 23.)

A.D. 257. Stephanus, and twenty other martyrs of both sexes, and Cerealis, a soldier, with his wife Sallustia, are said by Ciaconius to have been buried with himⁿ in this catacomb. (Anastas., xxiv. 24. See sect. 6.)

A.D. 259. Sixtus II. was beheaded, and six deacons with him; he was buried in the cemetery of S. Calixtus,—the deacons in that of Prætextatus,—and S. Laurence who was his archdeacon, and received the crown of martyrdom three days afterwards, was buried in a crypt in the cemetery of Cyriaca (*in agro Verano*), in the field of Veranus. (Anastas., xxv. 25. See sect. 6.)

A.D. 269. S. Dionysius and Dennis^o, established cemeteries, and was buried in that of Calixtus.

A.D. 275. Felix made a basilica on the Via Aurelia, where he was buried. (Anastas., xxvii. 27.)

A.D. 283. Eutychianus buried three hundred and forty-two martyrs

^k "S. Fabianus . . . multas fabricas per cœmeteria fieri præcepit." (Anastas., xxi. 21.)

^l This passage in Anastasius has led to much dispute as to the exact locality of the martyrdom of the two great Apostles, whether it took place on the Vatican Hill, or on the hill called Mons Aureus (corrupted into *Montorio*), which is a mile to the south of the Vatican. This hill is called the Golden Mount, from the golden colour of the sand on the surface, which is distinctly visible from many parts of Rome. The church of S. Peter in Montorio is built on the

one site, and S. Peter in Vaticano on the other.

^m Whether he was beheaded on that site where the great church stands that was built to commemorate it, or at the Tre Fontane, a mile further on, is still an open question. The whole of this story reads very much like an interpolation.

ⁿ Ciaconius, *Vitæ et Res gestæ Pontif. Rom.*, vol. i. col. 169, D. The addition of those two names is not in Anastasius.

^o "S. Dionysius . . . cœmeteria instituit." (Anastas., 26.)

with his own hands in various places; he was afterwards a martyr himself, and was buried in the cemetery of Calixtus. (Anastas., xxviii. 28.)

A.D. 290. Caius, in fleeing from the persecutions of Diocletian, dwelt in the crypts; he was a martyr, and was buried in the cemetery of Calixtus. (Anastas., xxiv. 29.)

A.D. 296. "Marcellinus was bishop during the great persecution under Diocletian, in which within thirty days seventeen thousand Christians of both sexes were crowned with martyrdom, in the different provinces of the Roman Empire. Marcellinus was called upon to sacrifice to the heathen gods, which he did; but a few days afterwards, having repented of what he had done, he was beheaded by order of Diocletian, together with Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus, who all suffered martyrdom for their faith in Christ. Marcellinus exhorted Marcellus not to yield to the orders of Diocletian. After their martyrdom, their bodies were exposed as a warning to the Christians for thirty-six days, by his order. Afterwards Marcellus collected their bodies at night, with a company of priests and deacons singing hymns, and buried them in the cemetery of Priscilla, in an open chapel or vault (*cubiculum*) which he had prepared when penitent, and which remains to this day^p (that is, to the time of Damasus); the body of Marcellinus was placed in a crypt near that of S. Crescentius, on the seventh of May." (Anastas., xxx. 30. See also sect. 8.) This open chapel appears to have been one of the chapels at the entrance to the Catacombs, either above ground, or with a luminare or opening for light and air in the middle of the vault, of which several examples remain.

A.D. 300. The catacomb of S. Castolus, the chamberlain of Diocletian. This had been forgotten, but was found again in 1864, and an account of it is given by Signor de Rossi in his *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* for February, 1865. It is situated on the Via Labicana, about a mile from Rome, near the railroad and the Claudian aqueduct^q. There was at the entrance of it a church

^p "Marcellus collegit noctu corpora [Martyrum?]. . . et sepelivit, Via Salaria, in cœmeterio Priscillæ, in cubiculo claro, quod patet usque in hodiernum diem." *Cubiculo claro* may mean only lighted "per luminare cryptæ," as that through which S. Candida was thrown and pelted with stones. See the acts of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus, ap. Bolland, June 2, n. 10, p. 173.

This catacomb is situated under the vineyard belonging to the Irish monks

of S. Clement. Some early tombstones were found in it in 1863, and were engraved by Signor de Rossi in his *Bullettino* for February, 1864.

^q It is thus mentioned in the valuable topographical tract *De locis sanctis Martyrum, quæ sunt foris Civitatem Romæ*:—"Juxta Viam vero Prænestinam, juxta aquæductum, ecclesia est sancti Stratonici, episcopi et martyris, et sancti Castoli, quorum corpora longe sub terra sunt sepulta."

or burial-chapel, dedicated to S. Stratonicus, bishop and martyr, and S. Castolus.

A.D. 309. "Marcellus asked permission of a certain matron named Priscilla, and made cemeteries [in her property] on the Via Salaria. After his martyrdom, his body was obtained by the blessed Lucina, and buried in the cemetery of Priscilla." (Anastas., xxxi. 31.) From this it appears that the Bishop Marcellus prepared certain burial-vaults in the cemetery of the family of Priscilla, for the bodies of the Christian martyrs in the great persecution then going on, and was soon afterwards himself interred in one of them.

A.D. 309. Eusebius was buried in S. Peter's, according to some authorities, and in the church of S. Sebastian, according to others; but in a crypt in the cemetery of S. Calixtus, according to Anastasius (xxxii. 32).

A.D. 314. Melchiades was buried in a crypt in the cemetery of Calixtus, on the Via Appia. (Anastas., xxxiii. 33.)

A.D. 330. Silvester was buried in the catacomb of S. Priscilla on the Via Salaria, at the third mile from the city. (Anastas., xxxiv. 48.) In his time, we are told by Anastasius that Constantine made a church to S. Laurentius in the field of Veranus, over the sand-pit crypt[†].

A.D. 337. Marcus made two churches, one on the Via Ardeatina, where his body rests, the other in the city of Rome, near the capitol. At his suggestion Constantine gave to the church, which he had made in a cemetery on the Via Ardeatina, a rosé farm with all the fields belonging to it, besides forty pounds in money. He was buried in the cemetery of S. Balbina, under the church which he had built[‡]. (Anastas., xxxv. 49.)

A.D. 337—348. Julius I. . . made two churches, one in the City near the Forum, the other on the Via Flaminia; he made three cemeteries, one on the Via Flaminia, another on the Via Aurelia, and another also on the Via Portuensis. (Sect. 5.) He was buried himself on the Via Aurelia, in the cemetery of Calepodius[†].

A.D. 352. Liberius resided for some time in the catacomb of S. Agnes, which he adorned with marble plates. He was recalled

[†] "Eodem tempore Constantinus Augustus fecit basilicam beato Laurentio martyri, Via Tiburtina in agrum Veranum supra Arenarium cryptæ, et usque ad corpus B. Laurentii Martyris, in qua fecit gradum ascensionis et descensionis." (Anastas., xxxiv. 43.)

[‡] "S. Marcus . . . sepultus est in cœmeterio Balbinæ, Via Ardeatina." This cemetery was probably afterwards called

by the name of S. Marcus himself, and was *restored* under that name in 705 and 855. (Sec sect. 7.)

[†] "(S. Julius) fecit autem et cœmeteria tria, unum Via Flaminia, et aliud Via Aurelia, atque aliud Via Portuensi. . . . Qui etiam sepultus est Via Aurelia, in cœmeterio Calepodii," &c. (Anastas., xxxvi. 50.)

to the city by the Emperor Constantius, at the instigation of the Princess Constantia, who was a Christian. He was buried in the catacomb of Priscilla. (Anastas., xxxvii. 51.)

A.D. 355. Felix II. is said to have received martyrdom under the Emperor Constantius, and to have been buried in the catacomb on the Via Aurelia (Anastas., xxxviii. 53); but the dates do not agree, notwithstanding that there is an inscription to that effect in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian near the Forum Romanum, to which his relics were translated in 1582^a. There was no persecution of the Christians under Constantius II., in the time of Felix II., A.D. 355—366; and Felix I. died A.D. 275, before the time of Constantius I., A.D. 305.

A.D. 366. Bishop Damasus made two basilicas, one near the theatre of Pompey, dedicated to S. Laurentius, the other on the Via Ardeatina, where he is buried in the Catacombs. He also built the platonias (at S. Sebastian's), where the bodies of the Apostles were laid, that is, of S. Peter and S. Paul, which he adorned with verses. He sought out the bodies of many martyrs, and decorated their vaults with verses. He was buried near his mother and sister, in a catacomb on the Via Ardeatina, called after him *Damasi*; he wrote a number of Latin verse inscriptions relating to the saints and martyrs buried in the Catacombs, and had them incised in a very elegant manner on marble plates^z, many of which are extant. (Anastas., xxxix. 54.)

A.D. 397. Siricius was buried in the catacomb of Priscilla. (Anastas., xl. 55.)

In the fifth century, the Popes were buried in different places, in the churches they had built, or in the catacomb of the Vatican under S. Peter's. This latter custom became general in the sixth century, for those Popes who died at Rome, or whose bodies were brought there.

A.D. 401. Anastasius I. was buried in his own cemetery, *ad Ursum pileatum*. (Anastas., xli. 56. See Sect. 5.)

A.D. 417. Innocentius I., also *ad Ursum pileatum*. (Anastas., xlii. 58.)

A.D. 418. Zosimus, near the body of S. Laurence on the Via Tiburtina. (Anastas., xliii. 59.)

A.D. 419. S. Boniface made an oratory in the catacomb of S. Felicitas, and ornamented the sepulchre^y of SS. Felicitas and Livianus, on the Via Salaria, and was buried there near the body of the saint.

^a CORPVS S. FELICIS . PAPAE . ET . MARTYRIS . QVI . DAMNAVIT . CONSTANTIVM.

^z "In platoniam scripsit nomina."

^y "Hic (S. Bonifacius) fecit oratorium in cœmeterio S. Felicitatis, juxta corpus ejus, et ornavit sepulcrum," &c. (Anastas., xliv. 61.)

(Anastas., xlv. 61. See sect. 8.) This was adorned with a mosaic picture, of which a drawing is preserved in the Vatican library.

A.D. 432. Cœlestinus was buried in the cemetery of Priscilla, Via Salaria. (Anastas., xlv. 62.)

A.D. 432—440. Sixtus III., hearing that the Emperor Valentinian and his mother Placida were furious against Bassus, and had condemned him to exile, where he had died, embalmed the body with aromatic herbs, and wrapped it in linen with his own hands, and brought it to S. Peter's, where he interred it in the burial-vault of his family. He also made a *platonium* (that is, a chapel with the walls lined with marble plates) in the catacomb of Calixtus, on the Via Appia, where he wrote the names of the bishops and martyrs, to commemorate them*. He was buried near the body of S. Laurentius in the crypt on the Via Tiburtina. (Anastas., xlvi. 65. See sect. 6.)

A.D. 440—461. S. Leo made the church (?) or chapel (?) (*basilicam*) of S. Cornelius, near the cemetery of Calixtus^a, (see sect. 7,) and was buried at S. Peter's.

A.D. 461—467. Hilarius was interred in a crypt near the body of the blessed Bishop Sixtus at S. Lorenzo (that is, in the cemetery of S. Cyriaca^b).

A.D. 482. Simplicius was buried in the church of S. Peter^c.

A.D. 498. Felix III. was buried in the church of S. Paul^d.

A.D. 498. S. Symmachus restored (or put into better order) the cemetery of the Jordani near the body of S. Alexander^e, on the Via Salaria. (Sect. 8.)

A.D. 523. John I. made the cemetery of the blessed martyrs Nereus and Achilleus on the Via Ardeatina . . . and renewed the cemetery of S. Felix and Adauctus, or Commodilla or Domitilla (?), on the Via Ostiensis, and of Priscilla, on the Via Salaria^f. (Sect. 9.)

A.D. 536—538. Silverius. In his time, during the siege of Rome, (which was defended by Belisarius, called also by Anastasius, Vili-

* "Hic (Sixtus III.) fecit platoniam in cœmeterio Calixti, Via Appia, ubi nomina Episcoporum et Martyrum scripsit commemorans." (Anastas., xlvi. 65.)

^a "(S. Leo) fecit autem et basilicam B. Cornelio episcopo et martyri juxta cœm. Calixti, Via Appia." (Anastas., xvii. 67.)

^b "Qui etiam sepultus est ad sanctum Laurentium in crypta juxta corpus beati episcopi Sixti." (Anastas., xviii. 71.)

^c "Hic sepultus est in basilica beati Petri apostoli." (Anastas., xlix. 72.)

^d "Hic sepultus est in basilica beati Pauli apostoli." (Anastas., l. 73.)

^e "Hic (S. Symmachus) fecit cœmeterium Jordanorum in melius prope corpus S. Alexandri." (Anastas., liii. 31.) This was renewed in 772.

^f "Hic papa Joannes fecit cœmeterium B. M. Nerei et Achillei Via Ardeatina. Item renovavit cœmeterium Felicis et Adaucti . . . et Priscillæ, Via Salaria." (Anastas., lv. 89.)

Each *cubiculum* was a separate burial-place for a martyr, and as many *cubicula* are connected together by corridors, the general name given to the whole varies extremely; it is sometimes called after one martyr, sometimes another.

sarius the patrician,) the Goths, in their fury, are described as having exterminated the churches, and the bodies of the holy martyrs^g.

A.D. 538. Vigilius repaired the Catacombs after they had been damaged by the Goths in their second siege of Rome, and restored some of the inscriptions of Damasus^h.

A.D. 560—573. John III. is said by Anastasius and in the Martyrology to have taken refuge in the catacomb of Tiburtius and Valerianus, now called of Prætextatus, for several months, during the siege of Rome by the Goths; and to have celebrated Divine service there on Sundays. He loved and restored the cemeteries (or catacombs) of the holy martyrs, and ordered that oblations, i.e. the bread and wine for the Eucharist, cruets and candles (for the holy Sacrifice), should be supplied from the Lateran Palace throughout them every Sunday; also that they should be lighted up during Lent. (Anastas., lxiii. 110.)

A.D. 577. Pelagius II. made the cemetery of the blessed Hermes on the Via Salaria Vetus. (Anastas., lxv. 112.)

A.D. 590. Gregory the Great made Lent stations in the Catacombs.

A.D. 619. Boniface V. completed and dedicated the catacomb of S. Nicomedes at the seventh mile on the Via Ardeatina. (Anastas., lxxi. 118.)

A.D. 626. Honorius I. renewed the cemetery of the blessed martyrs Marcellinus and Peter on the Via Lavicanaⁱ. (See sect. 7.)

A.D. 642—649. Theodorus. In his time the bodies of the holy martyrs, Primius and Felicianus, were taken up from the sand-pit on the Via Nomentana, in which they had been buried, and taken out to the city of Rome, and there re-interred in the church of S. Stephen the Proto-martyr^k.

^g "Nam ecclesiæ et corpora sanctorum martyrum exterminatæ sunt a Gothis." (Anastas., lx. 99.)

^h "Dum peritura Getæ posuissent castra sub urbem,
Moverunt Sanctis bella nefanda prius,
Totaque sacrilego verterunt corde sepulchra,
Martyribus quondam rite sacrata piis.
Quos, monstrante Deo, Damasus sibi
Papa probatos,
Affixo monuit carmine jure coli;
Sed perit titulus confracto marmore sanctus,
Nec tamen his iterum posse latere fuit.
Diruta Vigilus nam posthæc Papa gemiscens,
Hostibus expulsus omne novavit opus."

This inscription is now in the gallery of the Museum of Christian Antiquities

in the Lateran Palace.

It appears from this, and from other inscriptions and passages relating to the Catacombs, that the damage done to them by the Goths was speedily repaired, and they continued to be used as places of interment for some time afterwards. As places of pilgrimage, they were even more resorted to; the fashion went on increasing for two or three centuries, and has always continued after intervals. It has been very much revived between 1830 and the present time, and the paintings in S. Calixtus have again been restored or renewed for the modern pilgrims.

ⁱ "(Honorius I.) renovavit et cœmeterium B. M. Marcellini et Petri, Via Lavicana." (Anastas., lxxii. 120.)

^k "Feliciani, quæ erant in arenario

A.D. 687. Sergius I., "during the time of his priesthood, was accustomed diligently to celebrate mass through the different cemeteries." (Anastas., lxxxvi. 158.)

A.D. 705. John VII. worked on the cemeteries of Marcellinus and Marcus (on the Via Ardeatina), and on that of the holy pontiff Damasus¹. (See sect. 7.)

A.D. 731—741. Gregory III. restored the catacombs of S. Urbanus, Maximus, Petronilla, on the Via Appia and Ardeatina. (Anastas., xcii. 202.) He also established a body of priests to celebrate masses every week, and on the nativities and festivals, and other vigils in the cemeteries. (Anastas., xcii. 204.)

A.D. 752. Stephen II. restored the roof of the cemetery (chapel) of S. Soter, on the Via Appia, which had fallen in^m. (See sect. 7.)

A.D. 757—768. Paul I. "complained loudly of the damage done by the 'impious Lombards,' and removed many of the relics of the martyrs into Rome for security. He deposited them in the church which he had built in honour of S. Stephen and S. Sylvester (S. Silvester in Capite Via Lata), on the site of his father's house, which had descended to him by inheritance." (Anastas., xcv. 260.)

A.D. 772—795. Hadrian I. renewed the cemetery of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, on the Via Lavicana, near the church of S. Helena, as well as the coveringsⁿ over S. Tiburtius, S. Peter, and S. Marcellinus, and made new steps to descend to their most holy bodies, to which no one could descend before. (Anastas., xcvi. 325.)

Hadrian also renewed the basilica of S. Sophia, with the cemetery of Tertullian outside the Porta Latina, . . . together with the cemeteries of S. Urban the Pope (see A.D. 233), of Felix and of Agapetus, and of Januarius and Cyrinus the martyrs, outside the Porta Appia, . . . and restored that of S. Cyriaca; . . . also the church of the Apostles outside of the Porta Appia, at the third mile, in the place which is called the Catacombs, where the body of the blessed S. Sebastian rests with others, which was in ruins; he restored afresh . . . the cemetery chapels of S. Hermes, S. Prothus, and S. Hyacinth, on the Via Salaria.

A.D. 772—795. The cemetery of S. Felicitas on the Via Salaria.

— The cemeteries of S. Chrysantus, S. Daria, and S. Hilary, on the Via Salaria.

— The cemeteries of the Jordanes, that is of the saints and

sepulta, Via Numentana." (Anastas., lxxv. 128.)

¹ "Joannes VII. laboravit in cœm. Marcellini et Marci et S. Pontificis Damasi." (Anastas., lxxxviii. 167.)

^m "(Stephanus II.) restauravit et te-

gumen. cœm. S. Sotheris, quod ceciderat." (Anastas., xciv. 235.)

ⁿ This probably means, renewed the paintings on the vaults over the bodies in the *cubicula*.

martyrs Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial, &c., and of the seven holy Virgins (see A.D. 498), on the Via Salaria.

A.D. 772—795. The cemetery of S. Silvester, on the Via Salaria.

— The chapel of S. Abdon and S. Sennen, on the Via Portuensis, . . . and of the blessed martyr Candida, along with the cemeteries of other saints, he renewed in like manner.

— The cemeteries of the blessed martyr Hippolytus, near S. Laurence, on the Via Tiburtina. (Anastas., xlvii. 350.)

A.D. 795. Leo III. restored the cemeteries of S. Sixtus and S. Cornelius on the Via Appia, and of S. Zoticus on the Via Labicana. (Anastas., xcvi. 361.)

A.D. 817. Paschal I. translated the relics of 2,300 bodies to the church of S. Prassede, which he had built°. (Anastas., c. 435.)

A.D. 844. Sergius II. translated a large number of relics to the churches of S. Sylvester and S. Martin, in the Thermæ of Titus. (Anastas., civ. 491.)

A.D. 845. Leo IV. translated a number of relics to the church of the Santi Quattro Coronati. (Anastas., cv. 517.)

A.D. 857. Benedict III. restored the cemetery of S. Marcus outside the Appian gate. (Anastas., cvi. 572.)

A.D. 858—867. Nicholas I. is said to have restored the catacombs of Priscilla, Basilla, and Saturninus, and the celebration of mass in the Catacombs; he also repaired the catacombs of Felix, Pontianus, and Sebastian. (Anastas., cvii. 601.)

A.D. 1217—1229. The pilgrimages to the tombs of the martyrs in the Catacombs were renewed under Honorius III. The same active Pope buried the body of Maria, the mother of the King of Aragon, in the sepulchre (catacomb?) of Petronilla, which is said in the history of the Councils to be in the Vatican; but this may be an error arising from the writer not knowing the locality.

° A large crypt was built to receive these bodies under the apse of the church which this Pope was then building. The entrance to this crypt was through the confessor under the altar. The passage is divided into two parts, right and left, and there is an altar at the point of junction. This altar is richly decorated with mosaic patterns, and there is a picture over it of three figures, the Madonna between S. Prassede and her sister S. Pudentiana. Each division leads to a doorway into the great crypt behind, now closed. These corridors are lined with tombstones from the Catacombs, several of which have the in-

scriptions visible, and one of these is of the sixth century; others have them turned inwards and not visible. There are several other crypts built to receive the bodies at this period under different churches, as at the Santi Quattro Coronati, where they have half of an inscription belonging to them, the other half of which is in another church, some of the relics of the martyrs having been divided. In another crypt, under the choir of S. Maria in Cosmedin, there are a number of niches to receive the reliquary chests, much resembling the *columbaria* for cinerary urns.

III. THE MARTYRS.

THE history of the early martyrs in Rome has long been a matter of controversy, and will probably long continue to be so. The plan of this work is to avoid controversy as much as possible, and to confine it strictly to archæology, or the truth of history in detail. The legends of the Roman branch of the Catholic Church are not received as being necessarily true and the whole truth, but like other authorities of history to be weighed, and the date of the documents or of the writers to be always considered. When existing remains are examined by archæological rules, and are found to agree with the legends of the Church, the two combining may be considered as amounting to history. This appears to be the case with regard to the church of S. Pudentiana, but for the martyrdoms of S. Peter and S. Paul there can be no archæological evidence. There are no remains of buildings of the first century known, either in the Vatican, at S. Peter's or at S. Paul's, on the Via Ostiensis, or at the Tre Fontane. There are no cotemporary witnesses, but the authors of the fourth century mention them as received facts in their time. Lactantius especially mentions them as an ordinary matter of history that no one thinks of disputing^r.

That during the time of persecution the bishops performed the divine offices in the Catacombs is not only recorded; but many of the chapels fitted up for that purpose remain, especially one in the catacomb of S. Priscilla, where the altar or stone coffin of a martyr remains, with a small platform behind it for the priest or bishop to stand and officiate *over it*, according to the practice of the early Church. We are told that Xystus or Sixtus II., bishop in A.D. 259; with Quartus, one of his clergy, were beheaded in a catacomb; and Stephen I., A.D. 257, having been found in the act of performing divine service, was allowed to complete it, and then beheaded in his chair. This was long considered to be in the catacomb of Cyriaca, on the Via Tiburtina, which adjoins the public cemetery of S. Lorenzo, where an altar

^r "Cumque jam Nero imperaret, Petrus Romam advenit; et editis quibusdam miraculis, quæ virtute ipsius Dei, data sibi ab eo potestate, faciebat, convertit multos ad justitiam, Deoque templum fidele ac stabile collocavit. Qua re ad Neronem delata, cum animadverteret non modo Romæ, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem

deficere a cultu idolorum et ad religionem novam, damnata vetustate, transire: ut erat execrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, prosilivit ad excidendum cœleste templum, delendamque justitiam, et primum omnium persecutus Dei servos Petrum cruci affixit, et Paulum interfecit." (Firm. Lactantii Liber de Mortibus Persecutorum, c. ii.)

was afterwards erected to his memory ; but De Rossi (vol. ii. c. 14) considers it to have taken place in the catacomb of S. Calixtus. In the life of Stephen I. there are several legends of his seclusion in the Catacombs.

Although during the time of persecution the Christians were much worried and annoyed at the instigation of the Pagan priests, and many were even put to death, still there were long intervals of comparative peace, when they were no more molested than other citizens. The good emperors did not always yield to the influence of the Pagan priests, and although these were always hostile, partly from real belief in their own religion, and still more from the fear of losing their revenues which depended mainly on the offerings made to the idols, the people did not always support their idolatrous views. Perfect toleration of all religions had been one of the principal causes of the rapid rise and great extent of the Roman power, and it was only when the Roman people became intolerant under the influence of their priests, that their power fell almost as rapidly as it had risen.

These persecutions were however not generally of long duration. At other times, the Christians lived as other citizens ; and if they could conceal themselves until the storm of persecution had blown over, they were safe, at least until the next persecution took place. The bishops being naturally the first persons selected for persecution, it was a great object to secrete them for a short time, and for this purpose the Catacombs were admirably adapted : their intricate winding passages were known only to the *fossores*, who were generally Christians ; and as there were frequently several entrances, the bishop might escape by one while the enemy were seeking him by another. But the Catacombs were never intended, nor fit for dwelling-places, and the stories of persons living in them for months are probably fabulous. According to modern physicians, it is impossible to live many days in the caves of *pozzolana* in which many of the catacombs are excavated.

We read in the life of Alexander Severus, by Lampridius*, that "he put up in his private chapel statues to Christ and Abraham, as well as to Orpheus and Apollonius of Thyana." This does not agree with the story of his persecution of the Christians and Jews. He could not have selected Christ and Abraham as among the chief heroes, and at the same time have persecuted their followers.

* ". . . Matutinis horis in larario suo, in quo et Divos principes, sed optimos electos et animas sanctiores, in quibus et Apollonium, et quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abra-

ham, et Orpheum, et hujusce modi deos habebat ac majorum effigies, rem divinam faciebat." (Lampridius in Alexandro Severo, c. 28.)

“The same emperor proposed to have Christ received among the gods of the Roman people, and to build a temple to Him as Hadrian had previously proposed, who had also ordered temples *without images* to be built in all the cities, which, because they had no other name, are now [A. D. 222—235] called after Hadrian, who had ordered them to be built; but he was forbidden to do this by the priests, because if he did so all would become Christians, and the temples would be deserted.”

From this it is evident that Hadrian had caused many temples without idols to be erected, which he intended for Christian worship, and this at the beginning of the second century; moreover that these temples were still in existence in the third century, in the time of Alexander Severus, who wished to go a step further, and openly build temples dedicated to Christ.

In another passage in the life of the same emperor, we are told that the great Christian maxim, “Do unto others as you would they should do unto you,” delighted this good emperor extremely, and he ordered it to be inscribed on his palace, and on his public works. This, again, is not consistent with his persecuting those who hold this maxim as one of the great truths of their religion.

On the other hand, among the Epistles of S. Cyprian, written between A. D. 248 and 258, during the seventh persecution, are several letters addressed by him to the martyrs when in prison, and condemned to hard labour on the roads. One is addressed^x to “Nemesianus, Felix, Lucius, another Felix, Polianus, Victor, Jader, Pelian, *co-episcopus*, and the other priests and deacons and brothers, condemned to hard labour in the mines and quarries. He entreats them to have courage and perseverance and charity.” Other letters are the replies of the prisoners, who were afterwards martyrs, to Cyprian, then in exile. The Lucius here mentioned was not the Pope, but an African bishop of the same name. One of these is the reply of “Felix, Jader, Pelian, with the priests and all others, dwell-

^t “Christo templum facere voluit, eumque inter deos recipere; quod et Hadrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus *sine simulacris* jusserat fieri. Quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent nomina, dicuntur Hadriani, quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur; sed prohibitus est ab his qui consulentes sacra, repererant omnes Christianos futuros, si id primum fecisset, et templa reliqua deserenda.” (Lampriidius in Alexandro Severo, c. 42.)

^v “Si quis de via in alicujus possessionem deflexisset, pro qualitate loci, aut fustibus subijciebatur in conspectu ejus, aut virgis, aut condemnationi: aut si

hæc omnia transiret dignitas hominis, aut gravissimis contumeliis, cum diceret, *Visne hoc in agro tuo fieri quod alteri facis?* Clamabatque sæpius, quod a quibusdam sive Judæis sive Christianis audierat, et tenebat: idque per præconem, cum aliquem emendaret, dici jubebat, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.* Quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit, ut et in palatio et in publicis operibus præscribi juberet.” (Lampriidius in Alexandro Severo, c. 50.)

^x Cyprian. epist. lxxvii. ad Nemesianum et cæteros martyres in metallo constitutos.

ing with them in the *mine*, that is, of Sigus⁷ ;” but it is clear that these martyrs were not at work anywhere near Rome. Sigus is a town in Numidia, in Africa, and it is more probable that Cyprian in exile wrote to his own personal friends in his diocese, then in prison, and perhaps afterwards condemned to death. There is a figure of S. Cyprian, with those of other martyrs, in the Roman Catacombs ; but these figures are of the eighth and ninth centuries, and are no evidence of events of the second and third. S. Cyprian also mentions Felix as one who had worked next to him in chains, under Diennius ; but there is nothing to indicate that this was in Rome or anywhere near to it. Gallus and Gallienus were then emperors.

S. Augustine, in his celebrated treatise on the City of God, written about A.D. 400, says, “Whoever heard any of the faithful, when the priest was standing at the altar even over the body of a martyr, erected for the honour and glory of God, say in his prayers, I offer sacrifice unto thee, Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian, when he offered, *in his memory*, to God, who made them men and martyrs ? Whoever, therefore, offers obsequies in the places of the martyrdoms, and ornaments them, does so *in their memory*, not as sacred things or sacrifices as to gods⁸.”

Tertullian⁹, in his Apologies, written about A.D. 220, mentions the collecting of alms, and distributing them for various purposes, placing first for the purpose of sepulture, then attending to the sick, to orphans, and to old people, assisting the needy, and those confined for the faith in prison, in mines, or in islands.

“S. Ambrose^b speaks of the martyrs Gervasius and Protasius in this way. He says that he had intended to be buried there (under the altar) himself, because it seemed to him fitting that the priest should rest where he was wont to offer Holy Sacrifice whilst alive, but that he yields the place to the martyrs to whom it is due, for that those triumphant victims ought to be where Christ is the victim (*ubi Christus hostia est*). Only He who died for all lies upon the altar, they who were redeemed by His passion under it^c. In which last words he seems to indicate a reference to the language of the Book of the Apocalypse, vi. 9—11 [*I saw under the altar the souls of those that were slain for the Word of God and for the testimony which they held.*]

“That which S. Ambrose testifies about Milan, Prudentius testifies about

⁷ “Cypriano charissimo et dilectissimo, Felix, Jader, Polianus, una cum presbyteris et omnibus nobiscum commorantibus apud Metallum Siguense æternam in Domino salutem.” (S. Cypriani Epist. 80.)

⁸ “Quæcumque igitur adhibentur religiosorum obsequia in Martyrum locis, ornamenta sunt memoriarum, non sacra

vel sacrificia mortuorum tanquam deorum. Quicumque etiam epulas suas eo deferunt, quod quidem a Christianis melioribus non fit,” &c. (S. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. viii. c. 27.)

⁹ Tertulliani Apologeticus, c. 39.

^b Ambrosii epist. xxii. 13 ; edit. Benedict., vol. ii. fol. 877.

^c Northcote, p. 401.

Spain^d; of the sepulchres of S. Eulalia at Barcelona, and of S. Vincent at Valenza: also of S. Hippolytus in Rome. S. Jerome^e also about the tombs of S. Peter and S. Paul in the same city; and he appeals at the same time to the practice of all the bishops throughout the world.

“We must not suppose, however, that the altar was always *immediately* over the grave, though doubtless this was the more usual practice. Prudentius speaks as though, in the case of S. Hippolytus, the altar was only near his tomb^f; and both Bosio and Boldetti seem to have found instances in which the altar was placed in the middle of the chamber, not on a tomb in the walls, just as it was at one period in the Papal crypt. Neither were the *mensæ* (slabs) of these altar-tombs always fixed and immovable. On the contrary, in three or four instances they have been found with massive bronze rings inserted in them, by which they could be lifted off and a sight of the martyr’s relics obtained^g. S. Martin of Tours is said to have been the first saint, not a martyr, whose tomb became an altar^h. When altars were multiplied in churches, it became a rule universally observed, that the altar must contain some relics, and there still remain many indications of the ancient practice in the prayers and ceremonies of the Liturgy (of the Roman Catholic Church).”

The acts of the martyrs, collected and published in the great work of the Bollandists, contain many particulars respecting the persecutions of the early Christians; and although these acts cannot be traced to any early period, and are probably much interpolated, they have in all probability a basis of truth and certain particulars of real history not to be found elsewhere. They cannot be received as authority on any doubtful point, for few of them can be traced further back than the eighth or ninth century; but, like all other traditions, they should rather be sifted and examined than summarily rejected. When the stories related agree with others more authentic, and we know from other sources that a persecution of the Christians was going on at the time mentioned, and if the facts related agree with the traditions indicated, we may receive them as probably true, and they add much to the dry outlines of history which they clothe with living interest. The frequent mention of a place of public execution in front of the Temple of Mars, between the Via Appia and the Via Latina, may be received as proof that there was such a place of public execution in that locality.

Many of the early bishops of Rome were martyrs, and in a time of persecution it was natural that the bishop would be the first person selected for an example, in the endeavour to frighten his flock, and make the timid abjure their faith; we know that it was by the

^d Prudentii Peristeph. hymni iii., v. 191; iv., v. 7.

^e Hieronym. adv. Vigilant.

^f “*Propter ubi apposita est ara dicata Deo.*”

(Prudentii Peristeph. hymn. xi., S.

Hippolyt. v. 170.)

^g De Rossi, Roma Sotterranea, vol. i. pp. 169, 285.

^h Greppo, Dissertations sur l’Histoire du Culte des Reliques, p. 16.

blood of the martyrs that the Church was strengthened ; but if the crown of martyrdom had been bestowed on so many thousands, as is stated in the later legends of a credulous age, it would have ceased to be any distinction, and we should not read of persons being anxious to obtain the honour of interment near the relics of a martyr, if these relics existed by thousands. At one period the credulous Romans were taught to believe that *all* the persons buried in the Catacombs were saints or martyrs, as we see by inscriptions in the churches ; they are still taught that all were Christians ; but the number of Pagan sarcophagi and Pagan inscriptions found in the Catacombs to the present day are not consistent with this theory, and have to be explained away. The Pontifical authorities will not now admit either that *any* Pagans were ever interred in the Catacombs, or that they were *ever* used for interment after A.D. 410¹ ; in both these points they go too far. They assert, without hesitation, that *all* the Pagan inscriptions found in the Catacombs were merely brought there as old marble, to be used again as palimpsests. This opinion seems to be grounded on a few instances only ; but there are many other Pagan inscriptions now lying in the Catacombs, with the mortar or cement on the edges of them for fastening them against the wall. In some instances the back of the slab is left rough, and there is no trace of any intention to clean it, and cut them to fit the *loculi*, a process not likely to have been carried on in the Catacombs ; they appear, indeed, to have been left there neglected. The evidence of Boldetti, who was himself the keeper of the Catacombs, of the number of Pagan inscriptions found in his time, seems conclusive on this point, although he himself followed the traditions of his office, that the Catacombs were *exclusively* Christian, as the present authorities do. Padre Marchi, in his valuable work, records a number of Pagan inscriptions found by him, and in his Plans shews the spots where they were found. The drawings in one *cubiculum* of the great catacomb of Prætextatus are distinctly Pagan, and not Christian¹. The public have long been rigidly excluded from that part of this great catacomb by the Pontifical authorities.

That the Catacombs were *occasionally* used for interment long after the fifth century appears in many ways. Among the inscriptions now arranged in museums, in the corridors, in the cloisters, or in the porches of churches in Rome, originally brought from the Catacombs,

¹ Such at least is Dr. Northcote's interpretation of Signor De Rossi's views. (*Roma Sotterranea*, by Northcote and

Brownlow, ch. iv. p. 104.)

² See Plates XIII. and XIV.

are many of a later date than the fifth century, and of the large number of glass vessels and lamps also, many belong to a later period. Father Garrucci, one of the most learned Jesuits of the day, who has specially studied this subject, does not agree with Signor de Rossi upon it, and has published works in opposition to his views. The list of celebrated persons buried in the Catacombs is brought down even to the twelfth century, when the celebrated Countess Matilda, to whom the Roman see was mainly indebted for its landed estates and temporal power, is said to have been honoured with interment in the Catacombs near a martyr.

The Catacombs were much damaged during the siege of Rome by the Goths under Vitiges, in 537. "The churches and the bodies of the holy martyrs were exterminated by the Goths," says Anastasius^k. They were restored by the Pontiffs, and chiefly by John III. [A.D. 560—574], "who loved and restored the cemeteries of the holy martyrs. He ordained that oblations (or offerings) should be made, and the Catacombs lighted with lamps on every Sunday in Lent." This practice was continued in the following century.

In the various sieges of Rome by the barbarians, the Catacombs were repeatedly rifled in search of treasure, and the Lombards especially are said by Anastasius to have wilfully destroyed many of them. They were repaired and restored by the Romans in the time of Hadrian I. and Leo III.

In the time of Paschal II., A.D. 1104, the Roman Christians went barefoot on a pilgrimage to the Catacombs. Honorius III., A.D. 1220, translated a number of bodies from the catacomb of Pontianus, called in his time *ad Ursum Pileatum*. It is probable that he restored the paintings in some of the vaults from which he had taken them, as such appears to have been the custom. Some of the paintings published in Perret's work appear to be of the thirteenth century.

In the Middle Ages, the Catacombs are said to have been abused, like everything else in Rome, for warlike purposes in the barons' wars, and battles are said to have taken place in them between the adherents of the Colonna and the Orsini families. Petrarch describes these lamentable events in his time, and the adherents of Cola di Rienzi are said to have used them as places of muster and concealment. Notwithstanding all this desecration, they seem to have been still used occasionally as places of pious pilgrimage. Amongst the *graffiti*, or names scratched upon the walls, with several dates of the fourteenth century have been found, a bishop of Rome and

^k "Ecclesie et corpora sanctorum martyrum exterminata sunt a Gothicis." Anastas. 99; Silverius, A.D. 536.

companions early in this century, with several German names Latinized, and the date 1397. On one of the early Christian tombs was found a small chalice of silver gilt, and a palm-leaf worked in silver, with the date 1340. In another crypt was discovered this inscription, with the date 1321 above it, and the names of three visitors beneath it:—

“Gather together, O Christians, in these caverns, to read the holy books; to sing hymns to the honour of martyrs and the saints that here lie buried, having died in the Lord; to sing Psalms for those who are now dying in the faith. There is light in this darkness. There is music in these tombs.”

In the catacomb of S. Calixtus, the names of various pilgrims, who had visited them in the fifteenth century, are scratched upon the walls: some Franciscan friars in 1432; Brother Lawrence, of Sicily, with twenty brothers of the order of friars minor, on the seventeenth of January, 1451, and again in 1455, “in the week in which Pope Nicholas V. died;” some Cistercians in 1467; the abbot of S. Sebastian’s, with a large party, in 1469; other Franciscan friars in 1482. At the same period, Pomponio Leto, and other litterati, who were active in the revival of classical literature, and were suspected of heresy, also visited them, and inscribed their names, giving themselves, apparently in joke, grandiloquent titles, including that of Pontifex Maximus¹.

The translation of the relics from the Catacombs to the churches in the city, did not begin until the time of Pope Theodore [A.D. 642—649], when “the bodies of SS. Primus and Felicianus, which had been buried in the sepulchre on the Via Nomentana, were brought into the city, and interred in the church of S. Stephen the Proto-martyr.”

A second devastation of the Catacombs took place in 755, which was even more fatal, because at that time they were reduced to a state of ruin by Astolfus, King of the Lombards. A particular account of their miserable state is given by Paul I. in 761, in a letter to John the Abbot, published in Labbe’s “Collection of the Councils.” The same prelate removed many of the relics to the churches of S. Stephen and S. Silvestro *in capite*, which he had then just built, and to several other churches in the city.

This practice was continued by other Pontiffs down to the end of the ninth century, as we are informed by Anastasius, who mentions this in the life of Nicholas I., A.D. 858, the last that he wrote, and the continuator repeats the same account of later pontiffs. Simul-

¹ See Tiraboschi, Storia della letteratura Italiana, tom. vi. part i. pp. 93—97; De Rossi, S. Calisto, and Northcote, p. 3.

taneously with this the repairs and ornaments in the Catacombs were carried on, the place where the body of a martyr had once been buried being still considered sacred after the body had been removed.

The Catacombs do not appear to have been *generally* used as places of interment after the fifth century, but the members of families who had vaults continued to bury in them for a long period; in several instances the painted vault has been cut through to insert fresh bodies, after the *cubiculum* or chapel was full. Some inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries have been found, and are preserved in the crypt of S. Prassede, and in other places. Many paintings and inscriptions were restored by Hadrian I. in the eighth century, and Leo III. at the beginning of the ninth, after the invasion of the Lombards^m, as has been said. A large proportion of the paintings now remaining in the Catacombs are of this period, for example, those in the sepulchral chapel of S. Cornelius, in the catacomb of S. Calixtus, published by Signor de Rossiⁿ, and including many of those usually referred to in England as of ecclesiastical authority: a comparison of the style of drawing with that of the mosaic pictures in the churches demonstrates this. Although we have paintings of the second and third centuries, and architectural details even of the first, we find no painting distinctively Christian before the time of Constantine, and Boldetti is in error when he ascribes some paintings in the catacomb of S. Calixtus to the time of Nero^o.

The Inscriptions having been removed from their places and collected in museums, in many instances without any record of the particular catacomb from which each came, their historical value is almost destroyed; but the dates of some of the inscriptions are ascertained by the names of the Consuls, and from these it appears they were in use even in the first century. In the Vatican Museum is one of A.D. 71:—

VC. VESPATIANO III. COS. AN.

Boldetti found another of the date of 102 or 107, scratched on the plaster in the catacomb of Lucina, on the Via Ostiensis. They become very numerous throughout the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, and occasionally as late as the sixth, and even the seventh; one of the date of 568 is given by Boldetti (p. 86), another of 610 by Aringhi.

(PH)OCAE . III. COS CARI . AMICI.

^m See De Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. i. pp. 303, 304.

^o Boldetti, *Osserv. sopra i cim. de' SS. Mart.*, l. i. p. 5, c. xviii.

ⁿ De Rossi, plates vi., vii.

It is worthy of remark that the form so usual in the Middle Ages, HIC IACET, is extremely rare in the Catacombs.

Each painted chapel, or *cubiculum*, was usually the burying-place of some family^p to whom it had been sold in perpetuity, in the same manner as the plot of ground by the side of a road was to the more wealthy families^q. Of this we have evidence of various kinds; perhaps the best are inscriptions; one of these is thus printed by Boldetti (p. 53):—

IN . CRVPTA . NOBA . RETRO . SANCTVS.

Another from the catacomb of S. Balbina is in the Vatican Museum:—

IN . CYMETERIVM . BALBINAE . IN . CRVPTA . NOBA.

There is good reason to believe that the right of interment in a family vault was considered to belong to all members of it, notwithstanding any change of religion or inter-marriage with one of another religion, and this right of family was respected alike by Christians and Jews^r.

The agapæ, or love-feasts, were held upon various occasions, on a wedding-day, on the day of a funeral, on the anniversary of the dedication of a church or cemetery, and on the anniversary of a martyrdom. These last were especially held in the Catacombs.

An oration in praise of the forty holy martyrs is attributed to

^p The following inscription probably applies to a *cubiculum* for a family:—

CVBICVLVM DVPLEX CVM ARCISOLIIS
ET LVMINARE
IVSSV PP SCI MARCELLINI DIACONVS
ISTE
SEVERVS FECIT MANSIONEM IN PACE
QUIETAM SIBI SVISQVE.

This inscription is given by De Rossi as from the catacomb of S. Calixtus, and as a proof that it was under the special jurisdiction of the Popes; but it seems to admit of a different interpretation: that Severus made a double chamber or burial-vault for himself and his family, in the time of Bishop Marcellinus and of the Emperor Diocletian. It is much to be regretted that this inscription was not left in its place: the removal of it deprives it of half its value and interest.

^q The following relates to the pur-

chase of a crypt near the body of a saint:—

IN CRVPTA NOBA RETRO SANCTVS EME-
RVM SE VIVAS BALERRA ET SABINA
MERVM LOCV BISONI AB APRONE ET
A BIATORE

SERPENTIVS EMIT LOCVM A QVINTO
FOSSORE AD SANTVM CORNELIVM.

^r The following is given by Gruter, p. 399, I:—

COTTIA . A . COTTI . F . GALLA
TESTAMENTO . FIERI . IYSSIT
A . COTTIO . PATRI . PRO . COS .
HISPANIAE . ET . PACVLLAE . MATRI . ET
A . COTTIO . FRATRI . QVAESTORI AED
PLEBI . ET . MEMMIAE . GALLAE . AVIAE
HVIC . MONVMENTO . TVTELAE . NOMINE .
CEDVNT . AGRI . PVRI . IVGERA . DE -
CEM . ET
TABERNA . QVAE . PROXIME . EVM .
LOCVM . EST .

“Romæ in domo Latini Juvenalis juxta plateam Judæorum tab. marmorea.”

S. Gregory of Nyssa^a, as written in the fourth century, soon after the persecution under Julian the Apostate; but the editor says it is one oration. It is now divided into two parts, and is said to have been so divided because he was interrupted on the first day by the crowd and confusion, and was obliged to stop and conclude it on another day. This oration, if genuine, was evidently spoken at a commemorative feast, for in the beginning of the second part he mentions the law about convivial meetings, and that it was necessary to prepare a supper in honour of the martyrs. At this supper he was speaking under the protection of the law.

It is one of many other curious instances of the intense ignorance of the Roman population during the sixteenth century, that the very existence of the Catacombs had been forgotten, and hence the accidental discovery of them in 1578 excited great interest and attention[†]. The valuable works of Panvinus, Bosio and Aringhi[‡] were eagerly sought for, and the populace were half mad on the subject; it was at once assumed that all the persons buried in these public cemeteries during five or six centuries were saints and martyrs. Their relics were supposed to work miracles, nearly every tomb was rifled in search of treasure, and the bones, alleged to be those of martyrs, were sold at a high rate. Every inscription was removed from its place. The tombstones were built up in the walls of the porches and cloisters of the churches, and after a time museums were formed to contain them, in which they were classed and arranged according to the fancy or the object of the directors[§].

In the seventh and eighth centuries it was the custom (as we

^a S. Gregorii Nysseni Opera, vol. iii. pp. 490—514. Editio Paris. sive Ægid. Morelli, 1638, folio. This oration is considered by later editors to be spurious, and probably not earlier than the eighth century.

[†] Baronius had visited them, but was too much occupied with his great work on the "Ecclesiastical Annals" to undertake any other. Ciaconius employed artists to copy the paintings; but he also was engaged in his great work, the Lives of the Popes and Cardinals. The real name of this author was Chacon, he was a Spaniard; but he resided many years in Rome, and is always known by the Latin name Ciaconius, which he adopted.

[‡] Others began various works on the subject; but Bosio was the only one who lived to complete the task to which he had dedicated a great part

of his life, and his book is the foundation of all subsequent knowledge of the subject. (See the Appendix.)

[§] The arrangement of the inscriptions by Signor de Rossi in the gallery of the monastery of S. Paul's outside the Walls, and in the Christian Museum at the Lateran, in which they are divided into classes, is no doubt very valuable and satisfactory in its way, and, if taken in connection with his valuable work upon these early inscriptions, is perfectly intelligible; but a large and expensive folio book is not in everybody's hands, and the simple chronological arrangement, with a systematic index, would have been more generally satisfactory.

See Signor de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianæ Urbis Romæ, septimo sæculo antiquiores*, folio. Romæ, 1857—61. He gives an excellent Chronological Table at the end of the first volume.

have said) to make pilgrimages to the tombs of the martyrs in the Catacombs, and make offerings at those shrines. Most of the paintings there were made by or for the pilgrims, and comparatively few of them are of any very early date. In the eighth and ninth centuries these profitable relics were considered to be in danger from the invasion of the Lombards; they were brought in large quantities within the walls of Rome for security, and buried in crypts built for the purpose, which were called Catacombs, as at S. Prassede, the Quattro Santi Coronati, S. Maria in Cosmedin, and several others. We read of many waggon-loads being carried to a single church in Rome^v. After the Catacombs went out of use, the churches were much used as burial-places, some being more popular than others; S. Maria in Ara Cœli was at one period the favourite burying-place, and other churches have had their turn.

That the small chapels in the Catacombs were intended chiefly for the performance of the burial-service, or for families or pilgrims to pray at the shrines of the martyrs, seems evident from their size, as none of them could hold more than fifty or sixty persons; and at the time they were chiefly built, in the third or fourth century, the Christians assembled for public worship in much larger numbers. But in times of persecution they were used occasionally for the regular Church service, when the Christians were not permitted to meet as usual in the houses of the more wealthy members of the body, who usually received them in their halls or *basilicas*. From this circumstance, in later times, when the name of *basilica* became synonymous with church or *ecclesia*^x, these chapels were sometimes called also by that name. There is an excellent chapter in Bingham's "Antiquities of the Christian Church" (book viii.), on the different names given to churches at various periods, and the distinction between oratories, chapels, and churches. They were sometimes called *martyria*, (which would apply to these chapels,) and *confessio*, which name was afterwards confined to the small crypt under the altar in which the relics of the confessors and martyrs were collected and exhibited. They were originally also called *cœmeteria*, as in the canons of the Council of Eliberis, which was held in the heat of the Diocletian persecution, when the Emperor forbade their assembling even in these underground chapels; and those near the surface were sometimes destroyed. On such sites new chapels or churches were generally

^v Boniface VI. (A.D. 896) is said to have brought twenty-eight waggon-loads to the Pantheon alone.

^x Bosio and Aringhi give a list of

fifty-six churches (*ecclesie*) in the Catacombs: these could only be the small burial chapels before mentioned.

built after the persecution ceased, which may partly account for so many of them being of the fourth century.

Mabillon, in his *Iter Italicum*^v, relates that in his time, the body of a woman found in the catacomb of S. Calixtus was sent to the Augustinians of Toulouse as that of the martyr Julia Evodia, because they had found with it the vase supposed to contain the blood of the martyr. But the inscription was Pagan, beginning with the D. M., and was not that of Julia Evodia, the martyr, but that of her mother Casta^z. Muratori gives an inscription^a as Pagan from the D. M., and from the mention of the College of Pontiffs. Boldetti considers this as old marble only, the same as Signor de Rossi. This is the tradition of the office.

Boldetti^b gives a series of eleven tombstones with the inscriptions, Pagan on one side and Christian on the other, which proves that this was *sometimes* the case; but the fact of the same keeper of the Catacombs giving another series of thirty-five Pagan inscriptions found in the Catacombs in his time, and these without any mixture of Christian indications, but Pagan only, goes against the theory that the Catacombs were *exclusively* for Christian burial.

He gives a series of twenty-four Christian inscriptions, with the D.M. introduced, or what may be considered as mixed inscriptions, half-Christian and half-Pagan.

^v Mabillon, Museum Italicum, &c. tom. i. Iter, p. 225.

^z D. M.

IVLIA EVODIA FILIA FECIT
CASTAE MATRI. ET BENE. MERENTI
QVAE VIXIT ANNIS LXX.

^a HYGIAE. C. SIBI. ET. ALEXANDRO
. MARIT[O] SVO ITA
VT. POST. MORTE[M]. HYGIAE NEMO
IN HOC. SARCOPHAGO.

PONANTVR. NISI. IPSA. ET. MAR-
RITVS. SVVS. QVOD. SI. QVI[s]
ALIVM. POSVERIT. DET. COLLEGIO.
PONTIFIC. PENA. XSS. DECMNS. IN.
It is given also by Boldetti, p. 446.

^b Boldetti, Osservazioni sopra i Cimiterj de' SS. Martiri, ed Antichi Cristiani di Roma, &c., 2 vols. folio, Roma, 1720, lib. ii. cap. ix., x. and xi. He gives engravings of tombstones found by him, one from the catacomb of S. Agnes with this inscription:—

DOMINE	FRATER
ILARIS	SEMPER
LVDERE	TABVLA

In the centre of the inscription is a sort of board for a game, and under it two

views of a vase, one of the exterior, the other of the interior, with two dice in it, distinctly Pagan emblems. See p. 447.

The following was found in the Catacomb of S. Priscilla (See Boldetti, p. 441):—

E. D. M.

ET. BON[A]E. MEMORIAE. AVR.
LEVCADI. CIVI. TICINENSI. FILIO.
AVR. GRECIONIS. QVI. VIXIT. ANNIS.
PIVS. MINVS. XXV. ADFINIS. DE[-]
PRENSVS. IN. LOCO. PEREGRE. CON[-]
TRA VOTVM. FIERI. CVRAVIT.

One of the tombstones found in the catacomb of Pretextatus is a list of twenty-eight names of soldiers or legionaries, and eight officers of the legion. The upper part is wanting. There are thirty lines remaining, the last three—

DEDIC. IMPP. M. AVRELIO.
ANTONINO. II. IT. P. SEPTIMIO
GETA. COSS. V. KAL. IVNIAS.

All the letters A are cut as A, without the cross line.

For a further account of Boldetti's valuable work, see the Appendix.

Some of these tombstones were found on the surface of the ground outside of the catacomb, others have evidently been broken off to fit the openings of the *loculi*. These inscriptions are given by Boldetti as belonging to the Catacombs, and also by Fabretti in his work on the inscriptions^c found there, published about the same time.

^c Raphaelis Fabretti, Gasparis F., Urbinatis, Inscriptionum antiquarum quæ in ædibus paternis asservantur Explicatio et additamentum, una cum aliquot emendationibus Gruterianis, &c. Romæ, MDCCL. folio.

IV. CONSTRUCTION.

IN the Roman Campagna^d there were forty-three cemeteries^e, catacombs, or *cubicula*, whose names are recorded in inscriptions, in martyrologies, and in the Pontifical Registers used by Anastasius^f, since republished, with additions, in various forms, and repeated in substance by Baronius in his Annals, and Panvinius in his treatise on the Cemeteries. Aringhi reckons the number at fifty-six, and from the account of Signor de Rossi it appears that the number is now reckoned at about sixty. The number of *general* cemeteries is not so large.

The original entrances to the Catacombs were in many instances by subterranean roads or corridors, sometimes called streets. These corridors, which served as entrances to and passages in the burial-places, were originally old *arenaria* or sand-pit roads, from which the Pozzolana sand had been extracted; when this bed of sand is extracted, the entrance is usually closed. The soft bed of Pozzolana sand was, however, not generally used for interments, but the harder bed under it, called "tufa granulare." The different horizontal layers or beds of tufa vary very much in hardness and also in thickness. There are hundreds of miles of old sand-pit corridors now ready for use as burial-places or cemeteries, and useless for any other purpose. The use of these would be infinitely preferable to the recent Roman practice of throwing the bodies of all persons, whose families cannot afford to buy a piece of land in perpetuity, into a pit, in the same manner as the ancient Romans did the bodies of their slaves^g.

^d The galleries in the Campagna are said to extend altogether to between 800 and 900 miles, and the number of bodies interred in them to have been between six and seven millions. These are the calculations of Padre Marchi, but the grounds on which they rest are not very satisfactory; there seems to have been a good deal of conjecture. There is no doubt, however, that they are of enormous extent, and must have contained a very large number of bodies.

^e Ciaconius, vol. i. p. 142.

^f See p. 14, Chronological Table.

^g There are three hundred and eighty pits provided in the burial-ground of S. Lorenzo, one of which was opened every night. All the bodies brought for interment that day or night were thrown into it, after being first stripped to the skin by the officials; and then hot lime was thrown upon them, that they might be thoroughly decayed before the year came round. The mouth of the pit was closed with lime grouting, so that no effluvium could escape, and this covering was not broken until the pit was wanted to be used again. This

These corridors or passages of the sand-pits from which the Pozzolana sand had been excavated, are large enough to admit a horse and cart; these were frequently the entrances to the Catacombs, the corridors of which are usually by the side of or under those of the *arenariæ*, or sand-pits, and are only just large enough for a man, or two men with a body, to pass along; the height varies from five to seven or eight feet, or more, according to the thickness of the bed of tufa. In the catacomb of S. Hermes, part of the wide sand-pit road has been reduced to one-third of its width, by building up brick walls on each side with *loculi* in them:

There is in general, at present, no communication between one catacomb and another; each occupies a separate hill or rising ground in the Campagna, and is separated from the others by the intervening valleys. When the first tier of tombs extended to the edges of the hill, a second was made under it, and then sometimes a third, or more. The manner in which the rock is excavated in a number of corridors twisting in all directions, in order to make room for the largest possible number of bodies thus accounted for. The plan of the catacomb of S. Priscilla is a good illustration of this. It would have been hardly safe to have excavated the rock to any greater extent. The lowest corridors are frequently below the level of the valleys, and there may have been originally passages from one to the other, so that one entrance to S. Calixtus may have been through S. Sebastian's. The peculiarly dry and drying nature of the sandstone, or tufa rock, in which these tombs are excavated, made them admirably calculated for the purpose. These Catacombs were the public cemeteries of Christian Rome for several centuries, and it would have been well for the health of the city if they could always have continued so. Unfortunately after the siege of Rome by the Goths, in the time of Justinian, when some of the catacombs were rifled of their contents, the use of these excellent burying-places was discontinued.

That the *arenaria* were considered as burying-places in the time of Nero is evident from his exclamation of horror at the idea of being taken there alive for the purpose of concealment^b. The *arenaria* or sand-pits are also mentioned by Cicero in his Oration for Cluentius, where he says that the young Asinius, a citizen of

custom appears absolutely horrible to English people, but habit had made the Romans callous to it. It has now quite recently been discontinued, but this custom of using the pits was still in

use in 1860.

^b "Ibi hortante eodem Phaonte, ut interim in specum egestæ arenæ conderet, negavit *se vivum sub terram iturum.*" (Suetonius in Nerone, c. 48.)

noble family, was inveigled into one of them and murdered. This shews they were in use before the Christian era, and there is every reason to believe that they have been in use ever since lime-mortar came into use, which is believed to have been two or three centuries before that period. The celebrated Pozzolana sand makes the best mortar in the world, from its gritty nature¹. This valuable sand is found to any extent nearly all over the Campagna of Rome, in horizontal beds or layers between the beds of tufa; some of the tufa itself, which is sandstone, may be scraped into this sand, but it is easier to take it as ready provided by nature. People once accustomed to the use of this sand cannot do without it, and hundreds of carts filled with it may be seen daily traversing the Campagna, conveying it either to Rome, or to Ostia, or to Porto, for exportation. The horizontal layers or beds of this sand are not usually more than six feet thick, although they extend at a certain level over the whole surface of the country. It is therefore excavated in horizontal corridors, with various branches, extending for many miles, undermining the whole surface of the soil, but not in large or deep pits, so that the name of sand-pit is rather deceitful to English people, who commonly imagine it to be always a large and deep pit to which these roads lead only; this is not always the case, the roads themselves being excavated in the layer of sand, and frequently themselves the sand-pits. Sometimes there are different layers of sand at different levels, and in some cases there may be two sand-pit roads one over the other, with the bed of hard tufa between them.

We are told in the *Acta Sanctorum* that one of the punishments inflicted on the Christians by the Emperor Maximinus in the sixth persecution, A.D. 235, was digging sand and stone. The martyrs Ciriacus and Sisinnus are especially mentioned as ordered to be strictly guarded, and compelled to dig sand and to carry it on their own shoulders.

Some of the catacombs were evidently made under tombs by the side of the road, and in that of S. Calixtus there are remains of the tomb on the surface of the ground. The burial-chapels of the fourth century commonly found over a catacomb probably replace earlier

¹ This grittiness or roughness arises from its volcanic origin. It has never been rounded by the action of water as river sand has, and, if examined with a microscope, it is seen to consist of crystals with jagged edges, in the same manner that fresh lime does: therefore when hot lime, fresh burnt, before it

had absorbed moisture from the atmosphere, was mixed with this rough sand, the expansion and crystallization of the lime binds it together in such a manner as to form an artificial concrete stone as hard as the hardest natural rock.

tombs. The church of S. Urban^h is now considered to have been a family tomb of the first century, made into a church long afterwards.

Many inscriptions are preserved relating to the preservation of a tomb with the land belonging to it in perpetuity, and they frequently mention the number of feet along the road and in the field. Their size varies enormously. Horace mentions one that was 1,000 ft. by 300 ft. The inscription of one dug up in the Via Labicana gives 1,800 ft. by 500 ft. ; another was only 24 ft. by 15 ft., and another 16 ft. square. In the case of one of the larger tombs belonging to a family that became Christian, it was easy for them to make a catacomb under it and allow their fellow-Christians to be buried there, or to sell portions of the large space for separate vaults. Many vaults of 16 ft. square might be made in the space of 1,800 ft. long by 500 ft. wide, as the one on the Via Labicana. If the adjoining field belonged to the same family, the catacomb might be extended as far as the family property itself extended. This is the most probable explanation of the *prædium* of the Lady Lucina and other Christian martyrs. They were heiresses to whom such a tomb and meadow belonged. When the space was limited, three or four stories were excavated in succession, one under the other, as we see in many instances.

The measurements of Michele de Rossi coincide with this in a remarkable manner. He finds the *area* of each separate catacomb to be respectively 100, 125, 150, 180, and 250 ft. None of these spaces are at all too large for the area commonly left round a tomb of importance, and the family property of this area would extend to any depth. Each cemetery was complete in itself, but sometimes connected with others by subterranean roads.

These tombs were protected by special laws, and the *area* in which the tomb stood was included with it. The area was often of considerable extent, and was intended for the burial-place of succeeding generations of the family to whom it belonged. The tombs of the period of the early empire were by no means exclusively for the *columbaria* for cinerary urns. The instances in which there are both places for bodies and urns are perhaps more numerous than those for urns only. The fine sarcophagi now found in museums, or applied to all sorts of uses, as water-troughs, vases for flowers, and various other purposes, were all originally in tombs, and generally in tombs in which there were also *columbaria* for cinerary urns. Some pagan tombs on the Via Latina have catacombs for the interment of bodies under them. The custom of burning the bodies was never universal, and lasted only for a certain period ; the custom of

^h See p. 69, and chap. iv. sect. 2.

burying the bodies came in again soon after the Christian era, and probably was influenced by the strong feeling which sprung up among the Christians on this subject. The sumptuous painted chambers in the upper part of the tombs of the first and second centuries on the Via Latina, were evidently imitated by the poor in the catacombs in the fourth and fifth centuries and later ; but there is no evidence of any Scriptural or religious subjects for paintings before the time of Constantine. The character of the paintings is almost universally later, and the few that are early are not Christian nor Scriptural.

It might very well happen that some members of the family were Christians and others were not, and this would account for the mixture of Pagan tombs with Christian ones in the same catacombs. The subterranean sand-pit roads frequently run parallel to the high roads at a little distance from them, and such a road passing at the back of the subterranean cemetery or catacomb would be very convenient to the Christians in time of persecution. The part of these roads which came within the limits of the cemetery would naturally be used for burial-places also, as we see that they were distinctly in the case of S. Hermes, and nearly with equal certainty in other cases. In ordinary times, there was no necessity for secrecy. The bodies of Christian martyrs were given up for the purpose of burial to those who applied for them¹.

The catacomb of SS. SATURNINUS AND THRASO, the entrance to which is in the gardens of the Villa Gangalani, about a mile from Rome, on the Via Salaria, is stated in a bull of Pope Nicholas IV., A.D. 1290, to have formed part of the great catacomb of S. Priscilla, the entrance to which is about a quarter of a mile farther from Rome on the same road. On descending into that of S. Saturninus by a steep flight of steps of modern appearance, but perhaps restored only^m, we soon pass under the road and hear carriages passing over head ; we then continue to descend to the depth of about fifty feet, divided into five corridors, only four of which can at present be seen ; but we pass the entrance to the fifth on one of the staircases, and see the opening to it. The two lower

¹ "Si quis in insulam deportatus vel relegatus fuerit, pœna etiam post mortem manet : nec licet eum inde transferre alicubi, et sepelire inconsulto principe : ut sæpissime Severus et Antoninus rescripserunt, et multis petentibus hoc ipsum indulserunt." (Digest., lib. xlviii. tit. 24, art. 2.)

The Roman laws applied to the whole Roman Empire, and this explains the text respecting the giving up of the

body of Christ to Joseph of Arimathea for burial.

^m Staircases to descend into the Catacombs were made by Damasus in the fourth century, some of them covered with marble slabs ; these are evidently not original entrances, but insertions, and some of the old tombs are destroyed in making these new staircases for the use of the pilgrims.

corridors of this catacomb have tombs or *cubicula* on the sides ; a few of these are painted, and the vault of the corridor in front of them also. All these paintings seem to be of the fourth century, or later.

The sandstone in which this catacomb is made is more than usually hard, for which reason apparently there are only three of the side chapels for family burying-places, and few of the arched tombs ; most of the recesses for graves are merely parallelograms, just large enough to contain the body, or two bodies side by side, one behind the other, the recess being excavated to a sufficient depth for that purpose, and some of these have the slabs covering the openings left in their places. The skeletons are allowed to remain in several of the tombs where the slab has been removed and left open. One of the chapels has remains of paintings of the fourth century in a very decayed state. The other two chapels are connected by a short passage ; they have evidently been family burying-places, a second added when the first was full. The passage is made through the principal tomb of the first chapel, the body previously interred there was probably removed to the inner chapel when that was made. The painted chapel is in the upper corridor, the double one in the lowest.

In descending from the garden, the two upper corridors have tombs on the sides, and are regular catacombs ; the third is an *arenarium*, or sand-pit, without tombs, and large enough for a horse and cart to pass along, as in the ordinary sand-pits. There must have been another entrance to this, and it is said to have been half-a-mile off, which is not improbable, judging by other sand-pits, both those now in use and others that are closed, some of which are known to be more than a mile long ; and with the different branch galleries, the corridors altogether often extend several miles. These galleries are large and wide enough for a horse and cart, but not for two to pass, sidings being made at intervals for that purpose. The passages in the Catacombs vary much both in height and in width, but are seldom more than three feet wide. The chapels also vary in size, but none of them would hold more than fifty people ; those in the present catacomb are small.

That each of these chapels was the burial-place of a family, and was considered as private property, is evident from the remains of a door at the entrance of several of them, as in the catacomb of S. Priscilla. In one of these, the stone corbel, with the hole for the pivot to work in, remains in its place ; the lower stone, with the corresponding hole, has been moved, but is lying on the floor in an adjoining chapel. Another door has been made to slide up and down

like a portcullis or a modern sash-window, as we see by the groove remaining on both sides. This is close to a *luminaria*, or well for admitting light and air; and it seems quite possible that it really was a window, or that the upper part was made to slide down to admit the light and air from the *luminaria*. If this was the burial-place of Priscilla, the paintings were probably renewed in the restoration by John I., A.D. 523. The lower part of the wall is faced with stucco panelled with oblong panels, coloured in imitation of different kinds of marble; the stucco is about an inch thick, like slabs of marble, and the divisions between the panels are sunk to that depth, as if each panel had been painted before it was placed and fixed to the wall like marble slabs. There are some long narrow slips of white stucco lying about, which seem to have been fitted into the hollow grooves between the slabs. The vaults in this catacomb are in many parts supported by brick arches; in one place, at a crossing, are four small low brick arches, the character of which agrees with the period of the restoration in the sixth century; the mortar between the bricks or tiles is about the same thickness as the tiles themselves, which are rather more than an inch thick, so that there are five tiles to a foot, including the mortar between them. These brick arches are not subsequent repairs, but part of the original construction to carry the vault. The *arenarium*, or sand-pit gallery, through which the present entrance is made, has evidently been used as a subterranean road. A branch of an aqueduct running along the side of this, is part of an extensive system of irrigation carried on throughout all this district, the water having been brought from the Aqua Virgo, which passed in this direction^a. It was probably part of the original line of the Aqueduct, which has been altered in the portion near to Rome; this has not been traced out to any considerable extent, but Signor de Rossi has found many remains and indications of it. The sand-pit roads, or *arenaria*, ran for miles parallel to the high roads, and were probably used by the carters in preference to the open roads in hot weather, as they are always cool^o.

^a See the Chapter on the Aqueducts.

^o The number of instances in which *arenaria* are mentioned in the Pontifical Registers and in the Acts of the Martyrs as burial-places of the early Christians, seem quite conclusive on the point, although the modern Pontifical authorities will not admit this. There is scarcely one of the catacombs that has not either a sand-pit in some part of it, or a sand-pit road connected with it.

This was remarkably the case in that of S. Generosa, excavated by the Germans in 1868. The sand-pit and the road to it were found at the end furthest from the present entrance. The remarkable instance of this in S. Agnes, and the tradition of the monastery respecting it, has been already mentioned. The *arenarium*, or sand-pit in S. Calixtus, is described in the great work of De Rossi.

In the admirable essay of Signor Michele Stefano de Rossi on the construction of the catacomb of S. Calixtus^p, he shews the manner in which the staircases have been introduced at a subsequent period for the use of the pilgrims; that in some instances the lower part of the stairs has been cut away for security, to prevent the intrusion of the persecutors at some period of persecution after the staircase was built, and that was after the catacomb had been some time in use, for many *loculi* or graves in the walls were cut through in making the staircase. This last alteration, the cutting off the lower part of the staircase, was probably made at the time of the persecution under Julian [A.D. 362]. The *fossores* had learnt by the experience of their youth, or of their fathers in the time of Diocletian [A.D. 300], the necessity for these precautions. The following extract from Dr. Northcote's translation will explain this matter more clearly than other words would be likely to do:—

“The entrance to this gallery, cut through so many *loculi*, shews the damage done to the sepulchres in its formation, although a point was chosen with special care that the damage might be as small as possible. . . . From the entrance to the bottom of the flight, the steps are well preserved and covered with slabs of *terra cotta*. The *ambulacrum* (or walk) itself is paved with large tiles, all of which bear this stamp, OPVS DOLIARE EX PRAEDIIS DOMINI N[OSTRI] ET FIGL NOVIS: that is, according to Marini, from the imperial manufactory of Marcus Aurelius [A.D. 161—180], probably used again as old materials. As we approach the entrance to this gallery, communicating with the *arenarium*, we notice that the wall on either side of the entrance is sustained by masonry of *tufa* (the natural soil or rock) and brickwork, and that the entrance itself has been cut through some of the *loculi*, an evident proof of its having been made at a later period than the *ambulacrum*. The masonry, however, does not reach the present roof, because at the time that it was built the roof had not been raised to its present elevation by the excavation of the small (upper) gallery^q.”

Over the door of another chamber an inscription of the year 290 was found^r.

The catacomb of S. Cyriaca, adjoining to the great modern burial-ground of S. Lorenzo, affords at the present time an admirable opportunity for studying the construction of a catacomb in a natural section of it.

^p “Analysis of the Cemetery of St. Calixtus,” forming chapter iii. book v. of the work of Dr. Northcote and Mr. Brownlow, pp. 360—377, translated from the great work of the Commendatore G. B. de Rossi, but written by his brother Michele Stefano de Rossi; it is the result of many years' experience and careful observation.

^q Northcote and Brownlow, Roma Sotteranea, &c., p. 366.

^r VIBIV . FIMVS . R . VII KA SEP
DIO . IIII . ET . MAX . COS.

Vibius Fimus died (*recessit*) August 26, when Diocletian, for the fourth time, and Maximinus were consuls. (*Ibid.*, p. 374.)

PAINTINGS.

If the tombs of the early martyrs, before "the peace of the Church," were commonly decorated with paintings at all, which is not probable, it is almost certain that those paintings have been renewed at various subsequent periods. The only monuments of the first three centuries are the tombstones with inscriptions and small simple emblems incised upon them.

It is difficult to decide by the art of drawing only between the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century. But this art was in the height of perfection in the first century, in the second it was still very good, in the third it had begun to decline, but not so rapidly as to justify the assumption that the very bad drawings in the Catacombs belong to that period, with the exception of those already mentioned as not Christian. The drawing of the figures in the mosaic pictures in the vault of S. Constantia, which are of the first half of the fourth century, are decidedly better than any of the Scriptural subjects in the Catacombs. The mosaic pictures of the fifth century on the sides of the nave of S. Maria Maggiore, published by Ciampini, are much more like them.

S. Paulinus, bishop of Nola, writing in the fifth century, says that he had painted a catacomb, (or a *cubiculum*), for the pilgrims, and gives his reasons for doing so*. He thought good to enliven the whole temple of S. Felix, in order that these coloured representations might arrest the attention of the rustics^t, and prevent their drinking too much at the feasts. The temple here evidently means the tomb or crypt in which the commemorative feasts were held, and were represented by paintings. His expressions imply that such paintings were not then a received custom.

That the painted vaults in the Catacombs were used for feasts on various occasions in the same manner as the painted chambers in the Pagan tombs, is evident from the manner in which several

* S. Paulini poema xxvi. De S. Felice Natal. carmen ix., ver. 511; et poema xxvii., carm. ix., ver. 22, sqq. Those two poems were written A.D. 402 and 403. See S. Pontii Meropii Paulini . . . Nolani episcopi, Opera, &c. Veronæ, 1736, folio, p. lxxiv., 641, 646.

^t This was the constant practice in the Middle Ages. In the ballad "que

Villon fait à la requeste de sa mere, pour prier Nostre-Dame," she says :

"Femme je suis povrette et ancienne,
Ne riens ne sçay : onques lettre ne
leuz ;

Au moustier voys dont suis parrois-
sienne,

Paradis painct où sont harpes et luz,
Et ung enfer, où damnés sont boulluz."

writers of the fourth and fifth centuries mention them; in addition to the letters of Paulinus of Nola and S. Augustine, and the hymns of Prudentius, there is also a remarkable passage in a sermon of Theodoret on the Martyrs (written about A.D. 450):—

“Our Lord God leads His own even after death into the temples for your Gods, and renders them vain and empty; but to these [Martyrs] He renders the honours previously paid to them. For your daily food and your sacred and other feasts of Peter, Paul, and Thomas, and Sergius, and Marcellinus, and Leontius, and Antoninus, and Mauricius, and other martyrs, the solemnities are performed; and in place of the old base pomp and obscene words and acts, their modest festivities are celebrated, not with drunkenness and obscene and ludicrous exhibitions, but with hearing divine songs and holy sermons, and prayers and praises adorned with tears. When, therefore, you would dilate on the honour of the martyrs, what use is there in sifting them? Fly, my friends, the error of demons, and under their guidance seize upon the road that leads to God, and welcome their presence with holy songs, as the way is to eternal life.”

Bosio enumerates six *cubicula* or family burial-chapels in the cemetery or catacomb of Priscilla, and thirteen arched tombs with paintings. These pictures, of which he gives engravings, were far more perfect in his time than they are now. His engravings are good for the period when they were executed; but it was a time when all drawing was bad, slovenly, and incorrect, so that the general idea only of the picture is all we can expect. The costume and ornaments do not indicate any very early period of art, but rather a time when it had declined considerably. Costume in Rome, as in the East generally, was far more stationary and less subject to changes than in the West, and these *may* be as early as the fourth or fifth century, but can hardly be earlier. Several of the martyrs buried in the Via Salaria suffered in the tenth persecution under Diocletian, called the great persecution, about the year 300: the decorations of their tombs,

“ . . . Ignoscenda tamen puto talia parvis
Gaudia quæ ducunt epulis, quia mentibus error
Irreperit rudibus; nec tantæ conscia culpæ
Simplicitas pietate cadit, male credula
Sanctos
Perfusus halante mero gaudere sepulcris.”

(De S. Felice Natal. carmen ix. v. 562.)

“Suos enim mortuos dominus Deus noster in templa pro diis vestris induxit, ac illos quidem cassos vanosque reddidit; his autem honorem illorum attribuit. Pro prandiis enim diariisque ac dionysiis, et aliis festis vestris, Petri, et Pauli, et Thomæ, et Sergii, et Marcelli, et Leontii, et Panteleemonis, et

Antonini, et Mauricii, aliorumque Martyrum solemnitates peraguntur, et pro illa veteri pompa, turpique rerum ac verborum obscenitate, modestæ celebrantur festivitates, non ebrietatem, et jocos risusque exhibentes, sed divina cantica, sacrorumque sermonum auditionem, et preces laudabilibus lacrymis ornatas. Cum igitur ex honore Martyribus delato, quid utilitatis proveniat cernatis, fugite, amici, dæmonum errorem; præviaque illorum face atque ductu, viam capessite quæ ad Deum perducit, ut in immortalis ævo illorum choris et præsentia perfruamini.” (Theodoret, Episc. Cyrens., Opera, tomus iv. Sermo viii. de Martyribus, p. 605. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1642, folio.)

therefore, cannot be earlier than the fourth century, and many of them have been restored or renewed at subsequent times. John I., A.D. 523, is recorded^v to have renewed the cemetery of Priscilla, and this probably means that he renewed the paintings in the style of his own time, as the greater part of the paintings now remaining are of the character of that period.

On comparing the costumes of the figures in this catacomb with those in the illuminations of the celebrated manuscript of Terence, usually attributed to the seventh or eighth century, and which can hardly be earlier than the fifth, we see at once that the long flowing robe was the ordinary costume of the period, and that the narrow scarf of black ribbon hanging over the shoulders, with the ends reaching nearly to the ground, was the usual badge of a servant. This seems to have been adopted as part of the costume of a Christian going to pray to God, whether in a church or chapel or any other place, emblematical of the yoke of Christ, as Durandus says. The surplice and stole of the priest of the Anglican Church is a more close copy of this ancient costume than any now worn in the Roman Church. The rich cope, cape, or cloak was the dress of the Roman senator and of the Pagan priests; it was probably adopted by the Bishop of Rome when he assumed the title and office of Pontifex Maximus, and after a time the custom was followed by other bishops and priests of his communion^w.

^v See the Pontifical Registers published by Anastasius, quoted in our Section on the Chronology of the Catacombs, p. 21.

GLASS VASES.

A valuable work on the ancient glass Vases found in the Catacombs was published by F. Buonarotti* in Florence, nearly simultaneously with the work of Boldetti on the Catacombs, and of Fabretti on the Inscriptions found in them. This is the foundation of all the subsequent works on the subject; the figures are badly drawn and engraved, according to the fashion of the period, but many of the later works are not much better. The subjects are generally the same as in the paintings on the walls: the Good Shepherd, more numerous than any other; Adam and Eve, Moses striking the rock, Noah and the Ark, the raising of Lazarus, Peter and Paul, generally busts,—these are very numerous. Both the style of drawing and the character of the inscriptions indicate late dates and frequent copying from the same type. In one are three figures, S. Peter, S. Paul, with S. Laurence, seated between them.—S. Agnes occurs frequently, always drawn as in the usual type of the eighth century. Other busts are evidently portraits of persons interred. In some are the father, mother, and child;—one has the name of Cerontius; another of two busts, Cericia and Sottacus;—another is a family group, father, mother, and four children; the name is partly broken off. . . . N . . . BVSIVSTRIS. P. Z. remains.—Abraham with a drawn sword in his hand, and Isaac with his eyes bound, kneeling at his feet, with the ram. This subject is taken as an emblem of Christ, as shewn by the inscription—ZESES CVM TVIS SPES HILARIS.—A tall female figure with the hands uplifted in prayer; the inscription is PETRVS PAVLVS ANE, possibly for AGNES.—Another similar subject consists of two figures seated facing each other; over the left hand figure the name CRISTVS, over the right hand one ISTEIVANVS.—Several of the subjects are distinctly Pagan; others are evidently from the Jews' catacomb, as two lions guarding the ark, and under them two of the seven-branched candlesticks, with leaves and vases and palm-branch, and this inscription—ANASTAS. IRIEZESVS†; the whole in an engrailed border of late character.

The foot of a glass vase, found in the catacomb of S. Calixtus in 1715, was engraved by Boldetti, and in the work of Garrucci* on the

* "Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di Vasi antichi di vetro, ornati di figure, trovati ne' Cimiterj di Roma, per Filippo Buonarotti." Fol. min. Firenze, 1716.

† IRIEZESVS. Buonarotti should have endeavoured to make out this word,

which seems to be cut in two: [K]irie Zesvs, Lord Jesus.

* "Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri Cristiani di Roma, raccolti e spiegati da Raffaele Garrucci." Roma, 1858, fol. [Editio secunda, 1864.] plate 1, fig. 1.

ancient glass vessels found in the Catacombs. It was presented to the Pope Clement XI., and is now in the Kircherian Museum. In a circular panel in the centre is a bust clothed in the *toga* and the *lana*. Round this figure is the word *Zesus*, which is considered by Boldetti and Aringhi to be the same as *JESUS*; but Father Garrucci considers the costume as fatal to this interpretation*. In the outer circle are figures and groups of Scripture characters and events, two from the Old Testament prophecies of Christ: 1. The three children in the "burning fiery furnace;" 2. Tobias with the fish. Two from the New Testament, representing His miracles: 1. The restoring the paralytic, who is represented carrying his bed; 2. The marriage of Cana, with the wine-pots. Christ Himself is here represented with the rod of power in His hand.

On another vase, engraved in Garrucci's work, plate viii. fig. 17, the subject is the miracle of the loaves. Christ is represented standing in a tunic, with a nimbus round His head, and a scroll or roll of parchment in His left hand, surrounded by the seven baskets full of the fragments; over His head and round the edge are the words *CRISTVS ZESVS*. This shews that these glasses are work of a low period of art and of ignorant workmen, who used the Z and the J indifferently, probably writing from ear, and the pronunciation being the same; or the workmen may have been Byzantine Greeks, who were numerous in Rome in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, and probably at an earlier period also.

Another vase from this catacomb is published by Garrucci, plate xxxiii. fig. 1. This was found by Boldetti either in S. Calixtus or in Prætextatus, in 1718. On it is a picture of the table of the money-changers, with money upon it; there are two figures, one of whom has the corner of the table in his hand, and seems in the act of upsetting it, the other is looking on as if astonished. On the right is a small ark or chest, with two money-bags under it, having the numbers *CCCXX.* and *CCLV.* upon them, as if for the contents of each. Under the picture is the word *SACVLV*, and on the left hand *BIS. AN. DRESCO*; the right-hand side is broken away, and that part of the inscription is not preserved. This vase is conjectured by Boldetti to have belonged to the tombs of two persons employed in the Mint, to whom the name of *Colibista* is supposed to apply, and the letters *Co* to have been the two first letters of that word; the inscription under the picture, *SACVLV*, is supposed to relate to

* It seems far more probable that no particular costume was appropriated to Christ or the Apostles at the period when these glasses were made, than

that the central figure of this group can possibly be intended for any one but Christ.

the money-bags or sacks. It seems more probable that the subject intended is Christ upsetting the tables of the money-changers in the temple, and that the word SACVLV is a contraction of SANCTVARIVM(?)^b. The character of the work is late, probably of the eighth century.

Another foot of a vase from this catacomb, (plate xi. fig. 3,) has figures of PETRVS and SAVLVS, and the monogram of Constantine on the top of a post or the stem of a tree, adorned with gems between them. Their names are written down the sides, but not vertically; each holds his roll, or the volume of his epistle, in his hand, and there is another volume by the side of S. Peter. The costumes and drawing agree with the end of the fourth century. Other vases on the same plate are evidently later. This glass vase was found entire by Boldetti in the catacomb of S. Calixtus. It will be observed that to S. Paul is given his original name of SAVLVS. Both figures have beards, that of S. Paul considerably longer than S. Peter's. The heads of these two Apostles are very usual on these glasses, and they frequently have the monogram of Constantine between them; in other instances, in place of this is a circle with small tongues of flame issuing from it; in others a crescent, sometimes a small figure of Christ holding the crown of martyrdom over each.—On another vase from this catacomb (plate xvi. fig. 5) are three figures, Christ, Peter, and Paul, in conversation. This vase was also found entire by Boldetti in this catacomb, and is now in the Vatican Museum^c.

Another glass vase from this catacomb is published by Aringhi, vol. ii. p. 680, and described by Boldetti as of extraordinary size, with a head of Christ in the circular panel at the foot; this figure is represented by Garrucci, plate xvii. fig. 6. The Saviour is dressed in the tunic, and has the pall over His shoulders. He has the nimbus, the hair is cropped short in front, but two long locks appear under the ears, and the chin is quite clean, without any beard; the edge of the circular panel is engrailed. All the details seem to be indications of a late date, and other vases, engraved on the same plate, seem to be clearly of the time of Pascal I. or Leo III., the time when this catacomb was *restored*. Another vase from the same place is engraved by Garrucci, plate xxii. fig. 5. This was also found by Boldetti, and published by him, p. 194. In this are three figures, with the names AGNES, VINCENTIVS, POLTVS, probably IPOLTVS for

^b Perhaps only bad spelling for *sacellum*, a chapel.

^c "Et occurrit ei SS. Petrus et Paulus, credo quod pluribus locis simul eos cum illo pictos viderent. . . . Sic omnino

errare meruerunt, qui Christum et Apostolos ejus non in sanctis codicibus, sed in pictis parietibus quæsierunt." (S. Augustinus, de Consensu Evangelistarum, lib. i. c. 10, § 16.)

S. Hippolytus. They have not the nimbus, but wear caps. S. Agnes is richly draped in a long robe or dalmatic, with the embroidered stole, or *cipassi* hanging down in front, over the front of the dalmatic, but under the *lena* which hangs over her shoulders: this is the particular kind of *pallium* or pall appropriated to ladies of noble family. On her neck is the *maniaces*, a sort of necklace of large pearls or beads; her hands are uplifted in prayer, and her bare arms appear out of short sleeves. These details of costume agree with other figures of S. Agnes on different vases, and with the mosaic figure in the church named after her. All these figures seem to be of the eighth or ninth century.

Another vase from this catacomb, found by Boldetti, and now preserved in the Vatican Museum, was engraved by Garrucci (plate xxxviii. fig. 2). It is only an inscription surrounded by a cornice or crown of leaves, flowers, and thorns; the words are:—

CENA . BENANTI . ET . CLAVDIANI . QVI . SE . CORONABERIN BIBAN.

Between the two last words are tongues of flame.

This is explained to be merely secular and jovial, and numerous quotations from ancient authors are given in illustration, respecting crowns of flowers on festive occasions; but it seems far more probable that this tomb was that of two martyrs, whose sorrowing friends rejoiced in their having obtained the crown of martyrdom.

Another vase, bearing a head of a monk, with a cross on the forehead, and the inscription *LIBERNICA*, is pronounced by Garrucci to be spurious.

Among other objects found by Boldetti in the Catacombs and engraved by him (lib. ii. cap. 14), are several torques, the usual ornament for a warrior, mirrors for the ladies, pins, and combs, and rings; most of the latter have the Constantinian monogram upon them. Several have dice with various emblems; others, tesserae with various objects incised upon them, not Christian. Amongst other ornaments are a Gorgon's head, various fibulae and other articles of dress, as in pagan tombs.

There is no doubt that at least thirty of the vases published in Garrucci's work, plates xxx. to xlii., are distinctly pagan, and all these are said to have been found in the Catacombs^d.

Many of the glasses with gilt figures upon them appear to have been provided for the commemorative feasts, as may be seen by the inscriptions upon them, such as "a mark of friendship drunk, and long life to them and theirs." "Life and happiness to thee and thine."

^d One of the finest collections of these glass vases, after that in the Vatican, is now in the British Museum.

Garrucci gives several others to the same purport. *Some* of these drinking-glasses are shewn by the coins represented upon them to be of the third century, but the generality are much later. Many of them have pagan subjects, as has been mentioned.

Of the glass vessels with gilt figures and inscriptions upon them, several from the catacombs of S. Cyriaca and S. Hippolytus^e are engraved in the works of Buonarroti^f, Bottari^g, and Garrucci^h, relating to different saints. Perhaps the most important of these is the one of which the original is preserved in the Museum of Florence, and which has been engraved several times, in the centre of which Christ is represented crowning two martyrs, with the names of FIDELIS and FESTA. The first is dressed in the *toga* and a woollen cloak or *pallium*, called *læna*; the second in a *toga* and *pallium*, also on the hem of which is sewn a large band embroidered in gold, and over that a necklace.

Round this central picture are six shafts, with labels bearing figures with the names of PETRVS, PAVLVS, EPOLITVS, CIPRIANVS, SVSTVS, LAVRENTIVS.

Of these, SS. Laurentius (Laurence), Epolitus (or Hippolytus), and Sustus (Sixtus II.), were martyrs in the seventh and eighth persecutions under Valerian and Gallienus, A.D. 250, 260, as recorded in the Pontifical Registers of Sixtus II., used by Anastasius the Librarian, and in the Roman Martyrology for the sixth, tenth, and thirteenth of August. SS. Peter and Paul, in these cases, are commonly mistaken for the apostles, but are in reality intended for two other martyrs of the same nameⁱ, who were executed in the same persecution, and are commemorated on the third of October with four others, among whom were probably Fidelis and Festa. S. Cyriac, the celebrated Bishop of Carthage, was also one of the martyrs in that persecution on the fourteenth of September, but not at Rome. S. Cyriaca the widow, called also Domnica, and other martyrs in the same persecution, named Adonis and Justin, are also recorded to have been interred here^k. When the church was

^e For an account of those from the catacomb of S. Agnes, see our description of that catacomb, p. 85.

^f See note x, p. 50.

^g Bottari, *Pitture e Sculture sagre estratte dai Cimiterj di Roma*. Roma, 1737—1754, folio, 3 vols.

^h Garrucci, as before cited, see p. 46.

ⁱ See also Fabio Gori, *Della Porta e Basilica di S. Lorenzo, della Catacomba*, &c., p. 50.

^k "Præter hæc autem sanctæ memo-

riæ decessor meus, itidem ad corpus S. Laurentii martyris quædam meliorare desiderans, dum nescitur ubi venerabile corpus ipsius esset collocatum, effoditur exquirendo, et subito sepulcrum ipsius ignoranter apertum est; et ii qui præsentés erant atque laborabant, monachi et mansionarii, quia corpus ejusdem martyris viderunt, quod quidem minime tangere præsumperunt, omnes intra decem dies defuncti sunt, ita ut nullus vitæ superesse potuisset, qui sanctum

rebuilt by Pelagius II. at the end of the sixth century, his successor, S. Gregory, relates that the body of S. Laurence was found intact¹, and worked miracles.

As the mistake of confounding the martyrs Peter and Paul, of this persecution in the third century, with the two apostles of the same names, is a very common one, it will be as well here to collect other passages relating to their true history, in addition to those already given.

The cemetery or catacomb in which this S. Peter is said to have baptized the converts in the third century, is called *ad nymphas*, a word here used in the sense of 'the springs' or sources of water^m. This catacomb was the one in which the S. John who was a martyr with this S. Paul, or another S. Paul near the same period, had buried the bodies of other martyrs, "whose bodies John the priest collected at night, and buried in the month of February (in the catacomb or burial-place), at the springs in the Via Nomentana, where Peter had baptizedⁿ."

justi corpus illius viderat." (S. Gregorii Magni epist., lib. iv. ep. 30, Constantinæ Augustæ.)

"Posthæc fecerunt eam plumbatis atque scorpionibus affligi, usque dum Domino reddidit spiritum. Corpus martyris sepelierunt in agro Verano non longe a corpore B. Laurentii, a parte occidentali, ibi in cœmeterio sursum prima est Cyriaca sancta vidua, decimo Kalendas Septembris." (MS. Cod. Vatic., quoted by Aringhi, Roma Subterranea, lib. iv. c. 16.)

¹ The custom of embalming the body had been learned from the Egyptians by the Romans, and some of the bodies of the saints and martyrs were embalmed with spices, which gave out what was called "the odour of sanctity" when the coffins were opened in the Middle Ages. Miracles are worked by faith, that is, the faith of the person in whom the miracle is wrought; there are accounts of miracles worked in India on persons who have faith in their idols, as well authenticated as those of the Roman Catholic Church.

^m "Et cadit in patulos nymphæ Aniena lacus."

(Propert., lib. iii. eleg. 16, v. 4.)

Aringhi, lib. i. c. 16, § 7, mentions a place named "ad Nymphas," on the Via Aurelia. See also the index of vol. ii., sub vocib. Nymphæ, &c.

ⁿ "Quorum corpora . . . collegit Joannes presbyter noctu, et sepelivit in Via Numentana sub die Kal. februarii ad Nymphas, ubi Petrus baptizabat." (Aringhi, lib. iii. c. 16.)

It was also called after S. Hippolytus. These springs of water can still (1869) be seen in the vineyard of Monsignor Gori, between the Via Nomentana and the Via Tiburtina, where this catacomb is situated. This site was not discovered by Bosio; but it has now been taken possession of by the Cardinal Vicar, acting in the name of the Pope, and the keys can only be obtained at the Vicariate. The usual inscription announcing this has been recently put up over the entrance. (See p. 93.)

* Var. *lymphæ*.

V. LOCAL ARRANGEMENT.

VIA CORNELIA, OR TRIUMPHALIS.

S. PETER'S CHURCH AT THE VATICAN.

S. PETER'S Church was built over the catacomb of the Vatican, near the Via Triumphalis, in which many of the early Popes were buried in the first and second centuries; but this catacomb was of small extent: the soil being clay, was not found suitable for the purpose. In the fourth century, Pope Damasus ascertained that the bodies interred in the cemetery or catacomb of the Vatican were lying in water; he sought for the spring which caused this, and on cutting away the rock he discovered it. He made a fountain of it, with a proper drain, and the fountain which plays in the court of the Pontifical palace on the Vatican Hill is supplied by that spring. Damasus placed in the cemetery an inscription recording what he had done.

This catacomb is mentioned by Eusebius as existing in the time of Nero, and he quotes the authority of Caius, a writer of the third century; but there is still the want of *contemporary* evidence for the important facts relating to these martyrdoms and the very early Christian cemeteries.

“Thus Nero, publicly announcing himself as the chief enemy of God, was led on in his fury to slaughter the Apostles. Paul is therefore *said to have been* beheaded at Rome, and Peter to have been crucified, under him; and this account is confirmed by the fact that the names of Peter and Paul still remain *in the cemeteries* of that city even to this day. But likewise, a certain ecclesiastical writer, Caius by name, who was born about the time of Zephyrinus, Bishop of Rome, disputing with Proclus, the leader of the Phrygian sect, gives the following statement respecting the places where the earthly tabernacles of the said Apostles are laid. But I can show, says he, the trophies of the Apostles; for if you will go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian road, you will find the trophies of those who have laid the foundation of this church, and that both suffered martyrdom *about* the same time^p.”

° CINGEBANT LATICES MONTEM TENEROQVE MEATV
CORPORA MVLTORVM CINERES ATQVE OSSA RIGABANT.
NON TVLIT HOC DAMASVS COMMVNI LEGE SEPVLTO
POST REQVIEM TRISTES ITERVM PER-SOLVERE POENAS.
PROTINVS AGGRESSVS MAGNVM SVPERARE LABOREM,
AGGERIS IMMENSI DEIECIT CVL-MINA MONTIS.
INTIMA SOLLICITE SCRVTATVS VIS-

CERA TERRAË,
SICCAVIT TOTVM QVIDQVID MADE-FECERAT HVMOR,
INVENIT FONTEM PRAEBET QVI DONA SALVTIS.
HAEC CVRAVIT MERCVRIVS LEVITA FIDELIS.

The remains of this catacomb are believed to have been entirely destroyed in the sixteenth century, in building the foundations of the great church.

^p Eusebius, Hist. Eccles., lib. ii. c. 25, A.D. 54-68.

The following early Bishops of Rome, or Popes, are said on an inscription of Damasus⁹, given by Anastasius, also in an old Itinerary, repeated by Panvinius, to have been buried in this catacomb:—

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. S. Peter himself, June 29, A.D. 65. | 9. S. Telesphorus, Jan. 5, A.D. 141. |
| 2. S. Linus, Sept. 23, A.D. 67. | 10. S. Hyginus, Jan. 11, A.D. 154. |
| 3. S. Cletus, April 26, A.D. 81. | 12. S. Pius, July 11, A.D. 166. |
| 5. S. Anacletus, July 13, A.D. 103. | 14. S. Eleutherius, May 26, A.D. 198. |
| 6. S. Evaristus, Oct. 26, A.D. 112. | 15. S. Victor, July 18, A.D. 199. |
| 8. S. Sixtus, April 6, A.D. 135. | |

After a church was built on the site, there is no distinction between this catacomb and ordinary burial-vaults. S. Peter's became the usual place of interment for the Bishops of Rome, whether they were kings or not. It was a cathedral church, and that was the usual place to bury the bishops, whether in a catacomb or in the crypt only. At the present day the catacomb has either been destroyed or entirely concealed. Bosio gives engravings of sculpture only, and none that is of an earlier date than the fourth century, and no early tombstones or inscriptions from this catacomb have been preserved or published. Alphanus and Aringhi say that there were chambers or *cubicula* with paintings^r.

The following is William of Malmesbury's account of this road, and the catacombs upon it; of the second and third churches (?) or cemetery chapels (?) mentioned in this road nothing is at present known:—

"The first is the Cornelian gate^s, which is now called the gate of S. Peter, and the Cornelian way. Near it is situated the church of S. Peter, in which his body

⁹ No three authors agree as to the history of the martyrdom and burial of S. Peter. Some say that the martyrdom took place on the Janiculum, and on the highest part of it, called Mons Aureus, where the church of S. Pietro in Montorio now stands. Others say it was in the valley in or near to the Naumachia of Augustus, where the monastery of S. Cosimato (SS. Cosmas and Damian) now stands. Others, on the Vatican Hill, on the site of the great church, a mile from the other sites. The accounts of the burial are mentioned with the respective catacombs, and an attempt has been made to reconcile the apparently contradictory statements, by supposing the bodies to have been buried in one place and translated more than once, and the heads buried in a different place from the bodies. See the catacomb of S. Lucina and church of S. Paul, c. v.; and S. Sebastian, c. 6.

Signor de Rossi is of opinion that the tombstone of Linus was discovered in the seventeenth century with the name only. See *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1864, p. 50.

The earliest authority for these burials is Damasus, as published in the work of Anastasius. The dates are corrected according to the latest investigations published by Dr. R. A. Lipsius under these titles:—"Die Papstverzeichnisse des Eusebios, und der von ihm abhängigen Chronisten," &c., 29 pages, 4to., Kiel, 1868; and "Chronologie des Römischen Bischöfe bis zur Mitte des vierten Jahrhunderts," 280 pages, 8vo., Kiel, 1869.

^r Bosio gives twenty-eight plates of sculptures belonging to S. Peter's Church, and sarcophagi found in the crypt, but no paintings. See Appendix.

^s Malmesbury's History of the Kings of England, and the Modern History,

lies, decked with gold and silver and precious stones ; and no one knows the number of the holy martyrs who rest in that church, in which lie the holy virgins Rufina and Secunda. In a third church are Marius and Martha ; and Audifax and Abacuc, their sons."

It seems nearly certain that William of Malmesbury, in his account of the Catacombs, followed an old Itinerary prepared for the use of the pilgrims to these shrines ; and it is probably taken from a manuscript of the eighth century, preserved at Einsiedlen, which was afterwards used also by Panvinius in the seventeenth century, in his celebrated chapter "*De Cœmeteriis Urbis Romæ*." The order is the same, and often the same words are used. The text given to us by Malmesbury, in the twelfth century, appears to be the best ; Panvinius has added to it, and the text of the older account is unfortunately in such a bad state that it is almost impossible to follow it in many parts. Pilgrimages to the Catacombs were the rage in the sixth century ; they have been renewed from time to time, with considerable intervals. In the eighth and ninth centuries the fashion was very strong ; it continued with more or less force throughout the Middle Ages, until the sixteenth century, when the Catacombs seem to have been entirely forgotten, so that the researches of Bosio were looked upon as a wonderful discovery, as we have said. Panvinius was a cotemporary of Bosio, and one of the most learned men of his day. Having probably found the old Itinerary in the Vatican library, and given useful information to Bosio, he was one of the first to call attention to the antiquities of Rome, and his works contain much valuable information respecting them. Buried as everything then was, he was obliged to make bold conjectures, many of which no doubt proved correct ; but they are not always to be depended on. His works constitute the foundation of what are now called "the Traditions of the Roman Antiquaries."

translated by Sharpe. 4to. London, 1815, p. 421. The references to William of Malmesbury are given to the English translation by Sharpe for the convenience of English readers, but the Latin text will be found in the Appendix.

¹ The following is the title of his work on the Catacombs: "*Onuphrii Panvini Veronensis, fratris eremitæ Augustiniani, de Ritu sepeliendi mortuos*

apud veteres Christianos, et eorundem cœmeteriis Liber." It was printed with "*Historia B. Platinae de vitis Pontificum Romanorum*, fol. Coloniae, 1568," reprinted at Louvain in 1572, and at Rome in 1581, both 8vo., and a French translation was published at Paris in 1613, 8vo. Some further account of this work will be found in the Appendix.

VIA AURELIA.—S. PANCRATIUS.

“The fourteenth is the Aurelian gate and way, which now is called the gate of S. Pancras, because he lies near it in his church, and the other martyrs, Paulinus, Arthemius, S. Sapientia (or Wisdom), with her three daughters, Faith, Hope, and Charity. In another church, Processus and Martinianus; and in a third, two Felix’s; in a fourth, Calixtus and Calepodius; in a fifth, S. Basilides.”

Panvinius mentions a catacomb of Lucina on the Via Aurelia, this is usually placed on the Via Ostiensis.

The catacomb of S. Calepodius² is mentioned in the Acta S. Calixti as on the Via Aurelia, at the third mile, and it is believed to be the same as that now called S. Pancratius. Calepodius is said to have been a priest under Calixtus, and a martyr in the time of Alexander Severus; according to the legend, his body was thrown into the Tiber, rescued from it, and buried in this cemetery. S. Julius, a senator, and Antoninus, martyrs under Commodus, are also said to have been interred here. The body of S. Calixtus is also said to have been recovered from the pit into which it had been thrown by order of Alexander Severus, and buried in this catacomb, together with Palmatus⁷ the consul, his wife, children, and other members of his family, to the number of forty; Simplicius, with his wife and family, to the number of seventy-eight; and Felix, with his wife Blanda,—all these are said to have been baptized by Calixtus, and put to death by order of Alexander Severus. Pancratius is said to have been a martyr at the age of fourteen under Diocletian, and his history is related by Bede. After the peace of the Church, Julius I. was buried here, and the catacomb was sometimes called after him⁸. The relics of many of these saints and martyrs were translated to the church of S. Maria trans Tiberim; the head of S. Pancratius was translated to the Lateran, and the body placed in the church of the monastery of S. Pancratius, under the high altar there; and these relics were said to work miracles⁹.

⁶ William of Malmesbury, p. 421.

⁷ See our Chronological Table, A. D. 222.

⁸ There is no such name among the consuls; possibly Paternus, A. D. 233, may be the person intended, unless the whole story is a fiction. The large number makes it appear doubtful.

² The inscriptions of Damasus, quoted by Panvinius, give three catacombs to S. Julius,—I. on the Via Flaminia, near the church of S. Valentinus extra muros; II. on the Via Aurelia; III. on the Via Portuensi, as already mentioned in the Chronological Table, A. D. 331.

⁹ The same cemetery or catacomb, in

The catacomb of S. Pancratius, which contains four painted chambers or *cubicula*, in its present state does not possess much interest; the soil is not favourable for the purpose, and many of the walls and vaults are of brick, some of which appear to be ancient and original, with repairs of the eighth or ninth century or later. The entrance to the catacomb is through the church, which has been several times rebuilt, and the present appearance of it is entirely modern.

VIA PORTUENSIS.—S. PONTIANUS.

“The thirteenth is called the Portuan gate and way; near which, in a church, are the martyrs, Fœlix, Alexander, Abdon and Sennen, Symeon, Anastasius, Polion, Vincentius, Millex, Candida, and Innocentia^b.”

The catacomb of SS. Abdon, Sennen, Pygmenius, and S. Pontianus, is generally called after S. Pontianus only; it was formerly called “Ad Ursum Pileatum,” from a figure of a bear which was at the entrance. It is situated on a hill on the Via Portuense, about a mile beyond the gate, is made in a rock of sandstone of fluvial deposit, an excellent material for the purpose, and is consequently in good condition. It contains a baptistery, with a well or spring of pure water, over which is a small chapel painted, with a jewelled cross and figures, among which are the saints Abdon and Sennen, in the style of the time of Pope Hadrian I.; but these paintings probably replace earlier ones, as this catacomb is an early one. There are also two fine heads of Christ, one with a jewelled nimbus, but of the eighth century, the time of Hadrian.

According to the *Martyrologium Romanum*, S. Quirinus, who was a martyr under Claudius, A.D. 41—54, was buried in this catacomb; but that would be before the time of the first persecution, and of the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, and seems very apocryphal. The next martyrs said to be buried in it are

a general sense, is frequently called by different names, after the saints or martyrs that were interred there, each in a separate *cubiculum* or burial-vault. The name of ‘catacomb’ is constantly applied in two senses, the one general for the whole cemetery, the other special for each particular burial-vault or chapel. That of S. Pancratius was called, at different periods, in this manner by the names of S. Lucina, SS. Processus and Martinus, S. Agatha, S. Calixtus, S. Julius, S. Felix. The inscription of Damasus, relating to S. Felix, is also pre-

served, and from this it appears that Damasus also built and adorned his tomb, that is, his *cubiculum* or vault, in this catacomb. In the Einsiedlen manuscript the following catacombs are recorded as places of pilgrimage between the Via Aurelia and the Via Portuensis:—Processus and Martinianus, and Pancratius, Abdon and Sennen. The catacomb of S. Felix is considered by Panvinius as distinct from, but adjoining to, that of Calepodius, and he puts it at the second mile on the Via Aurelia.

^b William of Malmesbury, p. 424.

SS. Abdon and Sennen, but their bodies were only translated to this place in the time of Constantine; they had previously been buried near the Amphitheatre, where their martyrdom had taken place. Their relics were afterwards again translated to the church of S. Marcus by Gregory IV. (A.D. 827—844), at the time when the Lombard invasion made it necessary to remove the relics of the saints and martyrs within the walls of the city for security.

S. Pygmenius, a martyr under Julian the Apostate (A.D. 362), is also said to have been interred here by the matron Candida, near to SS. Abdon and Sennen. It is likewise related by William of Malmesbury that there was a chapel in honour of SS. Abdon and Sennen, and of S. Candida, in this cemetery or catacomb.

Anastasius I., A.D. 401, and Innocentius I., A.D. 417, are also said to have been interred here. The relics of the former, with those of other saints, were translated by Paschal I. to the church of S. Prassede or Praxedes, and those of Innocentius to the "Titulum Equitii," or S. Pietro ad vincula, by Sergius II. Other martyrs, named Felix, Alexander, Simeon, Pollion, Vincentius, Milex, are likewise said in the Itineraries to have been interred here, and their relics were also translated to S. Prassede by Paschal I.

The paintings in this catacomb are not numerous; but they are more than usually perfect, and seem to be for the most part in the same state as in the time of Bosio^c. On descending into this catacomb the first paintings to attract attention are at the end of one of the corridors, one right in front^d, with others on each side of this. The principal painting consists of three standing figures of saints, with the nimbus, draped in long flowing robes and stoles (or coloured or black borders to the cloak?), with their names vertically over their shoulders. 1. S. Marcellinus, with a roll of parchment or book in his hand. 2. S. Pollion, with the crown of martyrdom in his hand. 3. S. Peter. On the side of these are two other saints, Milex and Pygmenius, with a jewelled cross between them. These paintings are on a coat of plaster, which has peeled off in places, and shews distinctly under it a brick wall, with wide joints of mortar of the usual well-known character of the eighth century. The style of drawing of the pictures is also of that period, agreeing with the mosaics of the

^c Bosio gives engravings of seven paintings from this catacomb, which are in a more perfect state than any of the others. The same subjects have been copied repeatedly, but no fresh ones added. See Appendix.

^d This painting is on a wall of the eighth century, built across the corridor; the part beyond it was too much damaged to be restored, or perhaps enough was done for the pilgrims.

same time in the churches, many of which bear the names of the donors. The paintings over the well or baptistery in this catacomb are perhaps the best known, and the most celebrated of all the paintings in the Roman Catacombs. Amongst them is the large and very rich cross, of the same form as the small jewelled cross on the wall of the eighth century before mentioned, and of precisely the same character as a work of art. There are also two fine heads of Christ, with the nimbus enriched with jewels, and a large one on the vault over the steps that descend to the well; the other is on the wall at the top. The painting of the Baptism of Christ by the Baptist, in which He is represented as standing in the water above the waist, is probably the earliest example of this favourite idea of the Middle Ages. There is also a painting of the three children in the burning fiery furnace, as engraved by Bosio, but now much decayed; and figures of other saints, with their names written vertically as before: Millex, standing in the oriental attitude of prayer, with the hands extended, dressed in a sort of highland costume; Abdon and Sennen, standing turned towards the head of Christ, which emerges from a cloud between them. He places the crown of martyrdom upon each, and they are draped in the costume of the eighth century, wearing trousers, with a short cloak reaching to the knees, and the Phrygian cap. As to Vincentius, he is standing in the attitude of prayer, draped in a long robe with an apron. All have the circular nimbus.

Another painted chamber, not described by Bosio, has the Good Shepherd in a circular panel in the centre of the vault, and apparently the history of Jonah in the four square compartments, with ornaments between of late character,—all much decayed or damaged. The whole of the paintings in this catacomb evidently belong to the same period, the eighth century, as we have said, when it was restored, that is, repaired and repainted for the edification of the pilgrims. Anastasius records the restoration of this catacomb or cemetery by Pope Hadrian I., A.D. 772—795°, and the character of the work agrees perfectly with that period.

Of the other catacombs on the Via Portuensis, one is said by Aringhi^f to have been made by Felix II., when he was expelled from his bishop's throne by Constantius, A.D. 305, and retired to a farm which he possessed on this road. A church or chapel is also mentioned in connection with it.

Santi Bartoli relates some curious discoveries in his time in a

° Anastasius in *S. Adriano*, § 336.

^f Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea Novissima*, lib. ii. c. 18, tom. i. p. 360.

Christian (?) catacomb outside of the Porta Portuensis, in a vineyard belonging to the Abbot of the Effetti (?). A number of bodies were found, supposed to be those of saints, and with them "a splendid series of very rare medallions, pieces of metals, incised gems, pearls, and all sorts of things more curious for the learned^g," which had probably been votive offerings of the faithful.

^g "In uno cimiterio Cristiano scavato nella vigna dell'Abbate degli Effetti, fuori di Porta Portesi, oltre i corpi santi in quantità, vi fu trovata bellissima serie di medaglioni rarissimi Si

sono anche trovati in quantità bellissimi pezzi di metalli, intagli de' gemme cristalli, perle, ed ogni genere di cose più curiose ed erudite." (Santi Bartoli, apud Fea, Miscellanea, p. 238.)

S. GENEROSA, AT THE COLLEGE OF THE ARVALES.

This catacomb is situated in the Via Portuensis, at the sixth mile from Rome on the bank of the Tiber. It was excavated in 1868, at the expense of the King and Queen of Prussia, under the direction of Dr. Henzen and Signor de Rossi; and what gives this catacomb unusual interest, is that the greater part of the graves or *loculi* have not been opened. The original coverings over the openings, which are almost all of tiles only, are left hermetically sealed with plaster round the edges, as usual when they have not been opened; on this plaster or mortar the inscriptions or marks, by which to know the graves, have been scratched while the mortar was wet, and, as that has set as hard as a rock, they appear as fresh as if they had been written yesterday. One of these gives the names of the consuls, which are of the fourth century; some of the tiles or bricks also have upon them the brick-stamps of the same period. Near the entrance is a deep well of early character, probably also of the same period.

An excellent account of these excavations was published by Dr. Henzen, who had the direction of them^h, in which he gives all the inscriptions, with facsimiles of the most important. The College of the Arvales has obviously nothing to do with the catacomb, except that it happens to be in their grounds.

“Cœmeterium Generosæ ad sextum Philippi” is described by Bosio and Aringhi as six miles from the city; the martyrs Simplicius, Faustinus, and Beatrix, are said to have been buried in it, and their relics translated by Leo II., first to S. Paul’s, and then to S. Maria Maggiore, where an inscription to that effect is preserved. This must be the same as the one mentioned above.

This catacomb was in the sacred grove or wood of the college of the Arvales. Simplicius and Faustinus were martyrs in the great persecution under Diocletian, at the end of the third century. This burial-place appears to have been then in existence, or to have been then made: which is remarkable, as it seems to shew that some of the priests of the college of the Arvales must have been Christians at that time, although the college was still nominally dedicated to the Goddess Dia, and the grove was called *Lucus Deæ Diæ* in some of the inscriptions of the Arvales. De

^h “Scavi nel Bosco Sacro dei fratelli Arvali, per larghezza delle LL. MM. Guglielmo ed Augusta, Re e Regina di Prussia, operati dai Signori Ceccarelli.

Relazione a nome dell’ Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, pubblicata da Guglielmo Henzen.” (Roma, dalla Tipografia Tiberina, 1868.)

Rossi considers that the college was abolished in the third century, and the site could therefore be used as a cemetery in the fourth. If this conjecture is correct, the college must have been rebuilt just before its suppression, as the remains of the building now visible are of the third century. There are numerous fragments of cornices and other ornamental features, the character of which is very distinct and late. The vault under the college also remains, and is almost entirely of the same period. On the other hand, none of the fragments of the calendar found here at the same time are of later date than the third century. The legend relates that the bodies of the martyrs were thrown over the stone bridge into the Tiber, and were recovered by their sister Beatrix or Victrix, near the place called *Ad Sextum Philippi*, on the Via Portuensis. She took refuge with the Christian matron, Lucina; but the persecutors seized her, and, after keeping her a prisoner for seven months, suffocated her in prison. Her body was recovered by Lucina, who gave it for interment to the brothers at Sextus Philippus¹.

At the entrance^j of the catacomb are the ruins of a small chapel with an apse, the construction of which may be of the fourth century. This chapel is excavated to a considerable depth, and is on a level with the catacomb itself. There is an opening to look into the catacomb, in which was apparently a grating, as at the catacomb of S. Cyriaca, and there was a door from this chapel into the catacomb: it was therefore the regular entrance to it. The present entrance is not an original one, though very near to it. The catacomb was probably made in an old sand-pit gallery. Over the door of the chapel was an inscription in the beautiful characters of the time of Damasus^k; a small portion only has been preserved. The bodies, or the relics of these martyrs, were translated by Leo II. to the church of S. Bibiana, within the wall of Aurelian, near the

¹ Adonis Martyrol., ed. Georgio Rhodigino, p. 359, apud de Rossi, *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1869, No. 1. This author Ado, who lived in the ninth century, is the earliest authority for the legend that he can find with all his well-known diligence in the research for authorities. Six hundred years after the event for the earliest mention of it, makes the legend very doubtful; but the painting and the inscriptions are better evidence.

^j The present entrance is entirely modern; there were probably two entrances originally, one through the chapel, where the grating was after-

wards placed; the other from a sand-pit road at the opposite end, where a sand-pit remains with an entrance from it into the catacomb, or at the present time the reverse, an entrance from the catacomb to the sand-pit. This catacomb is not of much extent, and the whole of it seems now to have been excavated. It had evidently been examined in the time of Bosio.

^k MARTIRES SIMPLICIVS ET FAVSTINVS
QVI PASSI SVNT IN FLVMEN TIBERE
ET POSITI
SVNT IN CEMETERIVM GENEROSVS
SVPER
. FILIPPI.

Porta di S. Lorenzo, A.D. 682¹. Signor de Rossi gives in his *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* a learned dissertation on the name of Beatrix or Victrix, which he shews to be the same; the variation of the spelling arises from the difference of pronunciation in different provinces; and such variations are still of common occurrence. These account for many of the variations in the spelling of names on ancient inscriptions. He also shews in a similar manner that *Rufus* and *Rufnius* and *Rufinianus*, *Faustinus* and *Faustinianus*, *Balesianus* and *Valesianus*, are similar variations in the spelling only.

The names of the consuls scratched on the plaster of one of the *loculi* or graves, give the date of A.D. 372, and shew the catacomb to have been then in use. A.D. 382 is also the probable date of the chapel with the inscription of Damasus.

There is only one painted chamber in this catacomb, and the painting^m appears to be of the sixth century. It represents a group of five figures, all with the nimbus, four with each his crown of martyrdom in his hand. The names of *Faustinianus* and *Rufinianus*, written vertically, are perfect; the other two names are mutilated and indistinct. In the centre of the picture is Christ with the cruciform nimbus, the right hand raised in the attitude of benediction, according to the Byzantine fashion; the left hand holds the Gospel in a rich jewelled binding. Under the feet of all the figures are wavy lines, representing the waves of the river in which they were drowned.

Julius I. (A.D. 337—352) is said to have made three catacombs, one of which was on this road, and the martyrs Cyrus and Joannes were buried in it. They suffered martyrdom in the tenth persecution, under Diocletian, A.D. 300; their bodies, or what were supposed to be the relics of them, were translated into the city, to the church of S. Prassede, under the emperors Honorius and Arcadius, A.D. 414, and a church was built (?), or a chapel made in the catacomb (?) by the noble matron Theodora, as related by Sophronius in a very prolix story. This is said to have been two miles from the city, on the bank of the Tiber, opposite S. Paul's; the place was corruptly called *Santa Passera* in the time of Aringhi. These relics were interred in the *confessio* under the altar, and an inscription over the door stated that the relics of SS. Cyrus and John of Alexandria, martyrs of the time of Diocletian, in the year 303, given to Rome

¹ Anastas. in S. Leone ii. § 149.

^m Signor de Rossi gives a woodcut of this painting, from a good drawing.

by Alexandria, the great Greek townⁿ, were interred here. In the Roman Martyrology, S. Hippolytus, Bishop of Porto, is said to have been made a martyr by drowning him in the Tiber with his hands and feet tied; his body, rescued by the Christians, was buried here.

It appears that all the martyrs who were drowned in the Tiber were buried on this road, when their bodies could be recovered by the Christians, and some at Porto itself: hence, in the time of the pilgrims, in the seventh and eighth centuries, this road was looked upon as especially sanctified, and the Porta Portuensis was called Porta Romana for distinction. Bosio made careful researches on this road for many years, from 1600 to 1618; he only succeeded in finding two burying-places, cemeteries, or catacombs, one at a place called Pozzo Pantaleo, evidently in an *arenarium* for Pozzolana sand; but though he found some *cubicula*, with traces of old painting on the vault, including a Good Shepherd as usual, it was too much destroyed to be worth further search, and was covered up again. The distance of this from Rome is not mentioned^o. The other is that now called S. Pontianus. In this, on the partition wall under the paintings of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus, he found a contemporary inscription, with the name of Eustathius, servant of S. Marcellinus^p. There is another contemporary inscription in the porch of S. Maria in Cosmedin, recording a considerable donation to that church by Duke Eustathius; this was probably the same person who called himself the servant of the blessed Marcellinus, much as a good Anglo-Catholic would now call himself the servant of Christ. As this catacomb is situated on the top of the hill which separates the Via Portuensis from the Via Aurelia, and as SS. Marcellinus and Petrus received their crowns of martyrdom on the latter road, Bosio conjectured that this catacomb extends to both sides of the hill, and had originally an entrance from the latter road also. In that case, the martyrs Artemius, Candida, and Paulina were probably buried in another *cubiculum* or chapel of this catacomb.

ⁿ CORPORA SANCTA CYRI RENITENT
HIC ATQVE IOANNIS
QVAE QVONDAM ROMAE DEDIT
ALEXANDRIA MAGNA.

^o The catacomb of S. Generosa, when excavated at the expense of the King and Queen of Prussia in 1868, had evidently been examined before, to

some extent; one entrance to this is from a sand-pit road, and there appears every probability that this is the same place that Bosio called Pozzo Pantaleo.

^p EVSTATHIUS HVMILIS PECCATOR
SERVITOR
B. MARCELLINI MARTYRIS.

VI. THE VIA OSTIENSIS, &c.

“The twelfth gate and way was called the Ostiensian, but at present S. Paul’s, because he lies near it in his church. There, too, is the martyr Timotheus; and near, in the church of S. Thecla, are the martyrs Felix, Audactus, and Nemesius. At the Three Fountains ¹ is the head of the martyr S. Anastasius.”

CATACOMB OF LUCINA OR S. PAUL.

LUCINA is said to have been a pious lady of one of the great families of Rome, daughter of a Senator, a rich heiress, and one of the early Christians, a disciple of the Apostles. She is reported to have interred the bodies of S. Peter and S. Paul in her farm on the Via Ostiensis, and to have founded the church of S. Paul on the spot where his body was discovered; this was afterwards rebuilt as a magnificent cathedral in the fourth century, and has been several times rebuilt. There is an altar to her memory in a chapel, with a tessellated pavement to the left of the apse, and an inscription, which states that under that pavement is the cemetery of S. Lucina, in which the bodies of many martyrs are buried. Lucina ² appears to have been the family name, as we have others of the same name at later dates, and they had an estate on the north of the city as well as this on the south. The church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina stands on part of it, and that of S. Marcellus in the Corso is also said to have been erected on that property, which shews that it was of considerable extent. Unless we admit the conjecture of Signor de Rossi, that Lucina was not the name of an individual or of a family, but an enlightened lady, that is, a Christian. There seems much probability in this conjecture.

This catacomb was also called after other saints who were interred here, S. Commodilla, SS. Felix and Adactus. It was almost de-

¹ Aquæ Salviæ, now Tre Fontane. The tradition is, that S. Paul was beheaded on this spot; that his head, on touching the ground, rebounded twice, and that a fountain immediately burst forth from each place where it fell. See Lumisden’s “Roman Antiquities.”

² See the Section on Churches connected with the Catacombs. Panvinius gives a catacomb of S. “Timotheus

presbyter,” within the church of S. Paul.

³ De Rossi conjectures that Lucina may possibly not be a proper name or family name, but a title given to more than one of the early Christian ladies, as it literally signifies the *enlightened*. It seems improbable that the same family should have a large territory on the Campus Martius to the north of the city, and another on the south also.

stroyed in rebuilding the church, and remains entirely filled up with earth.

Ciaconius and others consider that the catacomb of Lucina was part of the great cemetery of S. Calixtus, which is between the Via Appia and the Via Ardeatina, and the latter is but a short distance from the Via Ostiensis; it is quite possible that all these catacombs were connected together by subterranean roads. Two of the earliest Christian inscriptions are from *loculi* or gravestones in this catacomb, A.D. CVII. and CXI., published by Boldetti, and in Signor de Rossi's "Christian Inscriptions:" the first was scratched upon the wet plaster, the second was in marble; others, of the dates of A.D. 235, 238, and 249, shew that it was in use in the third century. In the cloister of the monastery of S. Paul, there are many inscriptions and sarcophagi from the catacomb of S. Lucina. A large collection of inscriptions from this catacomb has also been placed in the walls of a hall and a lofty corridor in the monastery of S. Paul, arranged systematically by Signor de Rossi.

The burial-places or catacombs of S. Felix, S. Adauctus, and S. Emerita, were found by Boldetti and Marangoni near the church of S. Paul, under the present road that goes from that church to S. Sebastian's. The figures of the three Magi, with their names over them, were also discovered in the same catacomb, and published by Boldetti.

VIA ARDEATINA.

SS. NEREUS AND ACHILLEUS.—S. DOMITILLA.

The very early catacomb of S. Domitilla is situated on the Via Ardeatina, on the western side of the Via Appia, now at the junction of a cross-road from S. Paul's to S. Sebastian's. It is a part of the extensive catacomb of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, and was excavated about 1860. The entrance to it is perhaps the most remarkable feature, and throws considerable light on the plan of the catacombs generally. It is either from a subterranean road, or from a foss-way 20 ft. below the level of the soil, which has been arched over in the Middle Ages to bring the road to a level with the ground. The entrance arch is of excellent brickwork of the second century, or earlier. On each side of it is a *porticus* or porch, consisting of an enclosed space arched over; that on the right hand for the convenience of funerals. On the left is a baptistery (?), or possibly a place for washing the bodies, at the entrance to the catacomb in the sand-pit road, with a well in it, and a font or stone vessel to hold water supplied from the well, with the place for the pulley to draw up water, and the brick pipe to carry it into the font (!) on the other side of a wall[†]. This catacomb is of five stories and of great extent, and is so near to that of S. Calixtus on the Via Appia, as to make it probable that they have been originally united by a corridor or subterranean passage; but as neither of these has been fully excavated, this cannot at present be decided one way or the other. It is also so near to S. Paul's on the other side, as to make it probable that it is the same that was sometimes called the catacomb of S. Paul, or was connected with it. The subterranean road before mentioned as probably passing from the Caffarella and the church of S. Urbano, and the tomb of Prætextatus, and near to S. Sebastian's, would have led to S. Paul's, and is probably part of the same road that is here visible. This is, however, only a conjecture.

Flavia Domitilla was the name of the females of the family of the Emperor Domitian; three generations of the same name are mentioned, and they are believed to have become Christians at a very early period. Dion Cassius seems to support this belief, his account being that "Domitian put to death several persons, and among them Flavius Clemens the consul, although he was his nephew, and al-

[†] De Rossi considers this to have been the habitation of a guard for the cemetery, a sort of porter's lodge, and it has a good deal of that appearance.

though he had Flavia Domitilla for his wife, who was also a relation of the Emperor. The charge of *atheism* was brought against them both, on which charge many others had been condemned; and for going after the manners and customs of the Jews *some of them* were put to death; others had their goods confiscated, but Domitilla was only banished to Pandeterra^u, an island in the gulf of Gaeta, now called Santa Maria." Eusebius mentions the same facts, but calls the island Pontia. Some accounts make the younger Domitilla to have been also banished as well as her aunt, and make her the person mentioned by Eusebius, who gives the name of Bruttius for his authority; this name has been found in the catacomb. S. Jerome mentions the island as a place of pilgrimage in his time^v. Inscriptions have been found which prove that the ground in which the catacomb is situated was the property of Flavia Domitilla. The farm is now called Tor Marancia, after a medieval tower, as usual in the Campagna of Rome.

One of the inscriptions relates to a family tomb, and gives the dimensions of the ground belonging to it, granted by Flavia Domitilla^x:—35 ft. in front, and 40 ft. in the field, (which is quite sufficient to begin a catacomb).

The earliest dated inscription from the catacomb of S. Domitilla is of A.D. 277, on a gravestone, with the names of the Consuls. The inscription of Damasus is preserved in the Einsiedlen manuscript [71]^y. Other inscriptions found in the catacomb are of Bruttius Crispina, and of the Gens Bruttii, and the historian mentioned by Eusebius is supposed to have been a member of this family.

SS. Petronilla, Flavia Domitilla, Nereus and Achilleus, are also said to have been buried here in separate chapels, or *cubicula*, and part of the catacomb is now called by the last two names.

There are several painted *cubicula* here, some of which appear to be of the second or third century; but they are for the most part in a very decayed or mutilated state. One representing the four seasons is better preserved than most of the others, and is very curious.

^u Dion Cassius, Hist., lib. lxxvii. c. 13.

^v Hieronymi epist. ad Eustochium. 86.

^x Ex indulgentia Flaviæ Domitillæ, neptis Vespasiani. Quintilianus hanc memorat in proem., lib. iv. Instit. Orat. "Cum mihi Domitianus Augustus sororis suæ nepotum delegaverit curam," hoc est filiorum Flaviæ Domitillæ, sororis Domitiani.

FLAVIA DOMITILLA . FILIA . FLAVIÆ
DOMITILLÆ

IMP. CÆSARIS [VESPASI]ANI . NEPTIS .
FECIT . GLYCERA . I . ET
LIBERTIS . LIBERTABVSQVE . EORVM .
CVRANTE
T. FLAVIO . ONESIMO . CONIVGI .
BENEMERENT.
(Gruter, Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p.
CCXLV. No. 5.)

^y His own catacomb was on this road; see our Chronological Table, A.D. 367.

Spring and Summer are represented as female figures with wings, so small as to look almost like butterflies' wings attached to their shoulders, and each with an attendant genius. There is nothing that appears to be specially Christian in the painting of this chamber. Other chambers contain the usual Scripture subjects, such as the Good Shepherd, Moses, Daniel, Jonah, Adam and Eve. Several of these are of later date. One, probably of the sixth century, has the portrait of a young man in a medallion; he is in a costume resembling that of a cardinal, and is supported by two Apostles, one on either side, no doubt SS. Peter and Paul.

This catacomb is perhaps on the whole the finest and the best-preserved of all in their present state². It was restored by John I., A.D. 523, as mentioned in our Chronological Table, and many of the paintings are of that period.

The catacomb of S. Nicomedes, built by Boniface V., A.D. 619, is mentioned by Panvinus as at the seventh mile on the Via Ardeatina.

² The catacomb of Nereus and Achilleus is described by Panvinus as "in prædio S. Domitillæ, in crypta Harenaria (Arenaria), lapide ab urbe secundo, restitutum a Papa Joanne." See also our Chronological Table, A.D. 523 and 705. SS. Marcus and Marcellinus, in the same road, was also restored by John VII.

VIA APPIA.

“The eleventh is called the Appian gate and way. There lie S. Sebastian and Quirinus, and originally the bodies of the Apostles rested there. A little nearer Rome are the martyrs Januarius, Urbanus, Zeno, Quirinus, Agapetus, Felicitissimus; and in another church, Tyburtius, Valerianus, Maximus. Not far distant is the church of the martyr Cecilia, and there are buried Stephanus, Sixtus, Zefferinus, Eusebius, Melchiades, Marcellus, Eutychianus, Dionysius, Antheros, Poncianus, Pope Lucius, Optacius, Julianus, Calocerus, Parthenius, Tharsicius, Politanus, martyr. There, too, is the church and body of S. Cornelius, and in another church, S. Sotheris. And not far off rest the martyrs Hyppolitus, Adrianus, Eusebius, Maria, Martha, Paulina, Valeria, Marcellus; and near, Pope Marcus in his church. Between the Appian and Ostiensian way, is the Ardeatine way, where are S. Marcus and Marcellianus. And there lies Pope Damasus in his church, and near him S. Petronilla, and Nereus and Achilleus and many more ^a.”

THIS great high road to the south was celebrated for the number of martyrs who were executed upon it, and buried in the catacombs on either side of it. According to Bosio and Aringhi ^b, four thousand (?) were executed under Hadrian, A.D. 119, on this road alone, amongst whom were Marcellus, the priest, and Decoratus, the deacon, whose bodies were burnt; their day is kept on the 7th of October, and the legend is given in the acts of S. Sophia. This legend appears very improbable, and not consistent with the mild character of Hadrian, as given by his biographer: there was no persecution of the Christians in his time; on the contrary, he gave perfect toleration, and even favoured them, and ordered temples to be built in every city of the Empire *without images*, in order that the Christians might worship in them, as stated by Lampridius ^c.

The next martyrs said to have been executed on this road are Lucilla the virgin, and her father, Nemesius the deacon, who were beheaded in front of the Temple of Mars, between the Via Appia and the Via Latina, where there was a place of public execution. Their bodies are said to have been first buried by S. Stephen on the Via Latina, A.D. 257, and then translated into the cemetery of Calixtus by Sistus, Sustus, or Xystus II., A.D. 258.

We have, next, mention of thirty Christian soldiers and athletes executed in the tenth persecution, under Diocletian, A.D. 284; then of the virgins Felicula and Petronilla, whose bodies were interred by

^a Will. Malmesb., ed. Hardy, vol. ii. p. 425.

^b Aringhi, Roma Subterranea novis-

sima, lib. ii. c. 19.

^c Lampridius, Alexander Severus, c. 45. See above, p. 23.

SS. Nereus and Achilleus, themselves afterwards martyrs; this is recorded in their *Acta*. Then, under Julian the Apostate, Sempronius and Aurelianus, with several other soldiers, were beheaded, and their bodies interred by the faithful in a certain square crypt (*in crypta quadrata*) near the Catacombs. This square crypt is also mentioned in the *Acta* of S. Urban^d; it is there likewise called a cave (*antrum quadratum*).

S. SEBASTIAN^e.

The church of S. Sebastian stands in the centre of the district called "The Catacombs," and near the Circus of Maxentius and the tomb of his son Romulus, which are described as in "The Catacombs^f." It is quite possible that it was the original entrance to all those in that district.

For this reason S. Sebastian's was long considered to have been THE CATACOMB *par éminence*, the earliest of the Catacombs, and was confused with the ancient cemetery of Calixtus, made by Calixtus I., A.D. 219, as recorded by Anastasius^g. Calixtus was himself buried in the cemetery of Calepodius, three miles from Rome, on the Via Aurelia, (where the church of S. Pancratius was afterwards erected), probably because his new burial-vault or chapel in this cemetery was only begun and not ready for use at the time of his death. The recent investigations of Signor de Rossi^h have also shewn that the catacomb of S. Calixtus is distinct from that of S. Sebastian, and about a quarter of a mile nearer to Rome, occupying another hillock. It is, however, probable that this catacomb, although now divided into two, was originally connected, and that

^d Bolland. *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, die 25, tom. v. p. 471—488.

^e See the church of S. Sebastian in the Section on "Churches connected with the Catacombs."

^f The word "Catacomb" may originally have meant a hollow or valley, or perhaps the particular valley in which the Circus of Maxentius was made. It might not have had originally anything specially to do with a burial-place. This agrees with the words of the Catalogue of Roman Emperors published by Jo Georg. Eccard, "Maxentius . . . Termas in Palatio fecit, et Circum in Catecumpas." *Corp. hist. Med. Ævi*, &c. Lipsiæ, 1723, folio, vol. i. p. 31, col. 2.

^g The cemetery or catacomb of S. Sebastian was restored by Pascal I., A.D. 772.

^h See de Rossi's *Roma Sotterranea Cristiana*, folio, Roma, 1864—68, and his *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 4to., Roma, 1863—1870.

See also the great French work of Perret, in which the plates are rather theatrical for the English taste, being too highly coloured; but in many instances the outlines were traced from the originals: the pencil lines over some of the figures to strengthen the outlines, made by the French artists, may be seen in the Catacombs. A list of the subjects engraved in these works will be found in our Appendix.

the entrance was at S. Sebastian's ; but there must have been a catacomb here before the time of Calixtus, as Bishop Anacletus, A.D. 175, was buried at S. Sebastian's. According to the legend, the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul the Apostles were deposited for a time in the chapel at the entrance to this catacomb, called the *Platonia*, because the walls were covered with marble plates. The inscription of Damasus¹ shews that this legend was believed in the fourth century.

The present appearance of the catacomb of S. Sebastian, like most of the others, is lamentable and desolate in the extreme ; stripped of every tombstone and of everything possessing the slightest interest, it now consists only of a number of narrow passages cut out of the sandstone rock, with long narrow holes in the walls on each side, just large enough to have served originally for bodies, but with nothing to indicate that they had ever been applied to that use. A chapel said to have contained the tombs of Popes is there, but with no sort of evidence that such was its purpose. The visitor is obliged to put implicit faith in the assurances of the guide that such and such a hole formerly contained the tomb of such and such a pope, or saint, or martyr, or all three combined. The indications of the tombs of martyrs seem extremely doubtful and unsatisfactory, as every tomb has been rifled alike. Whether its occupant was pope, bishop, saint, or martyr, there is nothing whatever now to indicate ; it must all be taken on trust as an article of faith, and a very unnecessary trial of faith. That *all* the persons buried here were saints or martyrs, is a gratuitous assumption ; that the relics of all the persons buried in a public cemetery for centuries worked miracles, is incredible ; and this too great claim upon faith does in effect only shake it, and make stronger evidence necessary for belief. The popular story that the bodies of 174,000 martyrs were found in this catacomb, throws doubt upon the whole.

The following places of pilgrimage on this road are recorded in the Einsiedlen manuscript of the eighth century : Soter, Xystus, Urbanus, Marcellianus and Marcus, Januarius, and the church

¹ There are two inscriptions of Damasus from this catacomb, one of which is given in the Einsiedlen manuscript, and will be found in our Appendix, beginning "Hic habitare prius;" the other is given by Gruter, p. MCLXXI. No. 3:—

SANCTORUM QUICUMQUE LEGIS VENERARE SEPULCRUM,

NOMINA NEC NUMERUM POTUIT RETINERE VETUSTAS.
ORNAVIT DAMASUS TUMULUM COGNOSCITE RECTOR,
PRO REDITU CLERI CHRISTO PRÆSTANTE TRIUMPHANS,
MARTYRIBUS SANCTIS REDDIT SUA VOTA SACERDOS.

where S. Xystus was beheaded, Sebastian. The inscription of Damasus from this catacomb is preserved in that Chronicle^k.

PRÆTEXTATUS, SOMETIMES CALLED S. URBAN'S.

According to the Bollandists^l, S. Calixtus was bishop five years and two months, in the time of Macrinus and Heliogabalus, A.D. 218 to 222. S. Urban succeeded to him from 222 to 230; he was beheaded on the 25th of May on the Via Appia, according to the Martyrology of Bede. Many martyrs were executed on the Via Nomentana in the persecution of Alexander, in the time of S. Urban, and were buried in the cemetery of Prætextatus on the Via Appia. S. Urban resided on the Via Appia near the catacombs of the martyrs, where a church was afterwards *dedicated*^m in his honour, on the side of a certain hill, near the fountain commonly called Caffarella. On this road was also the house of Carpasius Vicarius, who had ordered the execution of Urbanus and his companions near the palace of Vespasian. Marmenia, the wife of Carpasius, was moved by their sufferings and fortitude, and became converted to the faith. She translated the bodies of S. Urban and his companions to her own house; afterwards she herself was a martyr, with her daughter Lucina; and twenty-two servants were added to the number of con-

^k The following inscription is in the church of S. Sebastian, and is printed in Aringhi, lib. iii. c. 11, § 20:—

HOC EST COEMETERIVM CALLISTI
 PAPÆ ET MARTYRIS
 INCLYTI QVICVNQVE ILLVD
 CONTRITVS ET CONFESSVS
 INGRESSVS FVERIT, PLENAM
 REMISSIONEM OMNIVM PECCATORVM
 SVORVM OBTINEBIT,
 PER MERITA GLORIOSA CENTVM
 SEPTVAGINTA QVATVOR MILLIVM
 SANCTORVM MARTYRVM,
 VNA CVM QVADRAGINTA SEX
 SVMMIS PONTIFICIBVS,
 QVORVM IBI CORPORA IN PACE
 SEPVLTATA SVNT,
 QVI OMNES EX MAGNA TRIBVLATIONE
 VENERVNT, ET VT HÆREDES
 FIERENT IN DOMO DOMINI,
 MORTIS SVPPPLICIVM PRO CHRISTI
 NOMINE PERTVLERVNT.

^l "De Sanctis Martyribus Romanis, URBANO ROMANO PONTIFICE, Mamiliano, Joanne, Chromatio, Dionysio, Presb. Martiale, Eunuchio, Luciano,

Diaconis, Anolino Commentariensi, Marmenia, matrona; Lucinia, virgine, ejus filia; Aliis xxii, item xlii, item quinque millibus; et Savino in carcere extincto. ITEM ALIO SANCTO URBANO, Roma Catalaunum in Gallias translato. Commentarius prævius. § 1. Varia acta martyrii: aliqua hic edita, reliqua ommissa. Actorum Appendix. Anno ccxxx. Quamplurima extant in pervetustis codicibus MSS. Acta martyrii S. Urbani Papæ: quibus inseruntur præclara certamina aliorum athletarum, in titulo præfixo nominatorum. Antonius Bosius . . . asserit se illa reperisse in tribus antiquis egregiis manuscriptis exemplaribus bibliothecæ Vaticanæ . . . ea fuisse per Notarios Ecclesiæ Romanæ conscripta." (Acta Sanctorum Maii, die 25, tom. vi. p. 5.)

^m This church was not *built* in his honour, but *dedicated* only, and that long afterwards. It was an ancient tomb of the first century. See the Section on "Churches connected with the Catacombs."

verts and martyrs, and their bodies were deposited in the same vault.

The companions of S. Urban were four priests and their deacons, the priests being Maximilianus, Joannes, Chromatius, and Dionysius; the deacons were Martialis or Martimalis, Mutius or Eunuchius, and Lucianus, who were all buried by Marmenia in a square cave strongly built. Lucianus is also said to have been buried in the cemetery of Prætextatus; S. Anolinus was the jailor, and was converted by S. Urban during his captivity. According to the legend of S. Cecilia, she told her husband Valerianus that if he would go to the third mile on the Via Appia, he would see an angel of God who would purify him. He there found S. Urban dwelling among the sepulchres of the martyrs, surrounded by the poor; he was converted and baptized, and afterwards brought his brother Tiburtius, who was also baptized. S. Urban is said to have been seized in the house of S. Cecilia by Almachius, the præfect, and put to death:

The catacomb of S. Prætextatus^a is situated on a cross-road from S. Sebastian's to S. Urban's, on the eastern side of the Via Appia. This catacomb is also part of a very extensive series, and has extended on both sides of the cross-road; there are entrances through the cliffs on both sides of this subterranean road or foss-way. There is great appearance of an original entrance to a catacomb through the building which is now the Church of S. Urban, which must have been either that of Prætextatus, or one very near to it, and probably connected with it by a sand-pit road. The small chapel under the altar, called the *confessio*, is at a much greater depth than a *confessio* usually is, and also has the appearance of having been originally one of the small chapels on the staircase at a landing-place, similar to the one we have remaining at S. Sebastian on the staircase to the *platonica*, which was the original entrance to the catacomb there also^o. The

^a A virgin martyr named Prætestata was buried there A.D. 461. The inscription on her tomb is preserved in the Lateran Museum, and was published by Signor de Rossi in his *Bullettino*, anno I, p. 74.

S. Prætextatus, bishop of Rome and Martyr, is mentioned by Gregory of Tours, writing about A.D. 580, and in the *Martyrologium*. See also our Chronological Table, A.D. 259.

Gregory of Tours mentions another Prætextatus, Archbishop of Rouen under Chilperic I. (A.D. 577). See D. Bou-

quet, *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. ii. pp. 243—246, &c. Prætextatus was a surname given to a very clever boy of the gens Papiria. See Aul. Gell., *Noct. Att.*, l. i. c. 23, and Macrob., *Saturn.*, c. 6.

^o But it is stated that excavations round the church, made under the direction of Signor de Rossi, have proved that there is no communication from the staircase to any catacomb, and that it only descends to an ancient tomb. There is, however, a sand-pit near this church, with a subterranean road in the direc-

painting in the small chapel or *confessio* is of the eighth century; when this catacomb was restored for the pilgrims. It represents Christ between two saints, S. Urban and S. Joannes. The paintings on the two sides of the church or tomb (?) are also very much in the style of some of those in the Catacombs, but not of the same period as the one in the crypt before mentioned. These at the two ends of the church have been restored, but the others have not. Some say that this church was originally a Temple of Bacchus, on the authority of an altar found in it, and are of opinion that it was one of the temples built by Hadrian without images, in order that they might be used by the Christians, because there are no niches for images; but the architectural character of the construction is earlier than the time of Hadrian, and it seems more probable that it was a *hypogeum* or sepulchre of some great family of the first century.

The present entrance to this catacomb is through a sand-pit, and the covered road *may* have been originally a sand-pit road; but the highly-finished brickwork on each side does not make this probable. The two ends being both filled up with earth, nothing certain can be ascertained at present (1869).

There are many instances of small Catacombs as family burying-places under a tomb, or to which the entrance is through one, as on the Via Latina in two or more instances. A tomb recently excavated at Cento-Celle, and remaining open, approaches close to this combination. In one of the large sepulchres full of *columbaria*, on the Via Appia near the Porta di S. Sebastiano, there is a passage leading to a catacomb, as if this tomb continued in use after the fashion had changed, and the bodies were interred whole instead of the burnt ashes only. In many instances these two modes of interment have evidently been carried on simultaneously, and both are provided for in the same burial-place.

The family or *gens* of Prætextatus^p is said to have been one of the

tion of the catacomb of Prætextatus, which extends to some distance, and is then closed by a modern brick wall, near to which are some *loculi* cut in the rock on the sides of the road. This was probably one of the entrances to the great Catacomb.

^p This family is also said to have had many magistrates among its members, as we find in Macrobius's *Saturnalia*: "Saturnalibus apud Vectium

Prætextatum Romanæ nobilitatis proceres doctique alii congregantur. . . (Lib. i. cap. 1.) Cum Servius ista dissereret, Prætextatus Avienum Eustathio insussurantem videns," &c. (Ibid., lib. vi. c. 7.) There are also said to have been several martyrs of this family, one in the time of Anacletus, A.D. 78, the brother of the Virgin Lucina, mentioned in the Acts of S. Sophia. Another, the father of S. Anastasia, is mentioned in the *Martyr-*

great and illustrious families of Rome in the time of the early Emperors, and is supposed to have become Christian at an early period. Their catacomb or cemetery is repeatedly mentioned as the burial-place of many martyrs. It is described by Onuphrius Panvinius as to the left of the Via Appia, which agrees with the one here described; but Bosio and Aringhi consider it the same as that of S. Calixtus, which is to the right of the high road. It has been conjectured that all the catacombs or *cæmeteria* on this road were connected together by the subterranean sand-pit roads, and none of these cemeteries are more than half-a-mile from the high-road.

According to Aringhi, the earliest martyr recorded to have been buried in the cemetery of Prætextatus was Quirinus the Tribune, executed under Aurelian on the 3rd of April, A.D. 272, one day before his daughter, Balbina⁹. After them, on the 18th of May, SS. Tiburtius, Valerianus, Maximus, and subsequently S. Urbanus underwent the same fate. These are said to have been buried in the *upper* corridor (*in superiore cœnaculo*), A.D. 223—230, and his attendant clerks, SS. Joannes, Chromatius, Dionysius, Martialis, Eunuchus, Lucianus, to have been buried at the same time in the lower corridors. At a later period, on August 8, S. Systus or Sixtus II.^r, with his attendant dea-

ologium Romanum. Another, in the time of Gordianus II., A.D. 238, is mentioned by Julius Capitolinus, by Amianus Marcellinus (lib. xxvii. c. 9), and Jerome (ep. ad Pammach. 61); and there was a statue of him in Rome, mentioned also by Macrobius, of which the base is in the garden of the Villa Mattei, on the Coelian.

Ludwig Iahn has devoted a long note to Prætextatus and his family in his edition of Macrobius's Works (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1848, 8vo.), Prolegomena, pp. xxii.-xxiv.

⁹ A sarcophagus of the date of A.D. 273 was found in this catacomb, according to Signor de Rossi; it seems probable from the coincidence of the dates that this was the one in which these martyrs were interred.

^r The accounts given of S. Sixtus or Xystus are very unsatisfactory, and in some points contradictory. There were two early bishops of Rome of the same name, both reckoned as saints and martyrs. There is no contemporary history of either, and in the legends respecting them, it is evident that the two are confused together. Sixtus the Second, who lived in the third century, is considered as the more important

salnt; he is commemorated in the Roman Martyrology on the 6th of August, and the Bollandists have collected all the legends that are extant, but they do not solve the mystery and confusion. The only original authority respecting him, is S. Cyprian, who says in one of his letters that he was beheaded; but Prudentius, in one of his hymns (Peristeph. hymn. ii. v. 22), says that he was crucified. Among the legends one account says that he was beheaded in the catacombs of *S. Calixtus*, and this is the one adopted in the modern Roman Martyrology. Another version is that he was beheaded in the catacomb of *Prætextatus*, with the attendant deacons and sub-deacons, Felicissimus, Agapitus, and others, who were buried in that catacomb, according to the inscription put up by Pope Damasus in the fourth century. If we refer to the Martyrology of Ado, this execution took place under Decius and Valerian, A.D. 257, but in the Greek Martyrology S. Sixtus is said to have been put to death with S. Hippolytus on the 10th of August. Usuardus relates that he was beheaded on the Via Appia, and Euno dius, in one of his hymns (sixth century), says that S. Laurence built a church in

cons and sub-deacons, Felicissimus, Agapitus, Januarius, Magnus, Vincentius, and Stephanus, beheaded by Valerian, A.D. 259, are recorded by an inscription of Damasus to have been also buried here. Another tombstone, with the date of A.D. 291, was discovered on the same spot. The invocations to some of these saints found by De Rossi scratched on the plaster round a grave, identify this catacomb as that of Prætextatus, and one of the numerous inscriptions of Damasus relating to S. Systus, printed by Baronius and reprinted by Aringhi, as in this catacomb, agrees with this.

This cemetery, or a part of it, was also called after S. Balbina. S. Marcus, the bishop, A.D. 337, is recorded to have built a church to her honour, and to have been buried in it himself; but the expression used in the *Acta Martyrum* agrees with his having rebuilt or enlarged the burial-vault or chapel only: as these are sometimes called *Basilica*, they may also have been called *Ecclesia*. One of the verse inscriptions of Damasus* relates to S. Marcus. The discovery of Signor de Rossi in this catacomb, that the arch of an *arcosolium* over a stone coffin of the first century had been turned into the entrance to a burial-vault or chapel in the fourth, seems to explain the difficulty: such a vault, with an altar in it, would very probably be afterwards called a church (*ecclesia*). His remains are said to have been found in the cemetery of Balbina, in the time of Pope Hildebrand, or Gregory VII., A.D. 1080, and translated to the church of S. Mark of Venice, near the Capitol.

Signor de Rossi considers the three catacombs of S. Calixtus, Prætextatus, and S. Sebastian, as quite distinct from each other, and that S. Sebastian's was the only one to which the name of catacomb was originally applied. Whether these cemeteries were originally connected by sand-pit roads or not, may fairly be left an open question, to be decided only by further excavation; that they are at present distinct is evident. That of Prætextatus we have mentioned as on a cross-road, which leaves the Via Appia on the hill after passing the small church or chapel of *Domine quo vadis*, and

his honour. The most probable account seems to be that he was executed on the usual place of public executions, in front of the temple of Mars, between the Via Appia and the Via Latina, and that the church now called S. Sisto Vecchio was built on the spot. He is mentioned both by S. Jerome and by S. Augustine.

In the *Mirabilia* (thirteenth century), he is said to have been "beheaded outside of the Porta Appia, near the 'Domine quo vadis,' where was the temple of Mars, hollowed out in front of S. Ne-

reus." In another passage of the *Mirabilia*, the palace of the Senate, near S. Sixtus, is mentioned. This could not apply to the catacombs at a distance from the city.

* ET DAMASUS TUMULUM CUM REDDIT HONOREM

HIC MARCUS MARCI VITA FIDE NOMINE CONSORS

ET MERITIS.

(Gruter, Inscr. Ant., p. MCLXXIII. No. 12.)

leads to the Via Appia Nova, passing by the end of the Circus of Maxentius and the church of S. Urban; it runs for some distance between two vineyards; in that on the right are the Jews' catacomb and remains of a series of Pagan tombs, shewing that this cross-road is an old one. In the vineyard on the left are many fragments of sculpture, chiefly Christian; this is popularly called *casa dei pupazzi*. Here also are the ruins of a large circular tomb, and another of rectangular form. Near these ruins is a very ancient staircase, descending to a Christian catacomb, and in excavations under them, in 1848, a figure of S. Sixtus was found painted in a *cubiculum*, with his name inscribed in Latin letters, SVSTVS, from which it was called the Catacomb of S. Sixtus. In 1850, another painted chamber of early character was discovered near the foot of the stairs. Six years afterwards, the principal entrance was found with two churches open above, and below these are extensive subterranean passages and crypts. One of the churches is believed to have been the burial-place of SS. Tiburtius, Valerianus, and Maximus, companions of S. Cecilia; the other, that of S. Zeno. In the crypts below were buried S. Januarius, S. Felicissimus, and Agapitus, deacons of S. Sixtus; Urbanus, Bishop of Rome; Quirinus, the Tribune, and other martyrs. This is therefore considered by Signor de Rossi as identified with the cemetery of S. Prætextatus and Januarius. It is described by Boldetti, under the name of S. Urban, being very near the church called *S. Urbano alla Caffarella*, and supposed also to be the place where he was concealed during a time of persecution.

This is also said to be the catacomb in which S. Sixtus II. was beheaded[†]. According to the legend, he was performing mass, and the executioner waited until he had finished. This would be in the chapel at the entrance to the catacomb, and the large square chamber at the entrance to this catacomb seems a probable spot for this scene to have taken place; but the legends on this subject are rather contradictory. Some accounts state that S. Sixtus was beheaded at the usual place of public execution in front of the Temple of Mars, and was only buried in this catacomb.

The principal entrance[‡] to this catacomb from the sand-pit road has a *crypto-porticus*, or a space arched over on each side for the convenience of funerals, when it was an open road to a sand-pit, as at S. Domitilla; but there is no baptistery here. This *crypto-porticus* is apparently from the construction of the third century, not of the first.

[†] Anastas., 25; Aringhi, lib. ii. c. 9. anno 1, p. 20, 4to. 1863; and another of

[‡] There is a wood-engraving of this entrance in Signor de Rossi's *Bullettino*, this chamber, p. 3.

Signor de Rossi found in this catacomb, in 1857, a fine lofty square chamber not excavated, but built with a luminary at the top. The vault is painted with leaves and flowers, and birds, of earlier character than any painting hitherto found in the Catacombs, agreeing in character with Pagan art of the second century. The foliage of the vine spreads over the whole vault, and on one part is a *vigneron* or grape-gardener, either cultivating the vine or gathering grapes. All the paintings are very small, and very elegant, quite in the style of the best classical period, but with nothing distinctly Christian about them, although an allegorical meaning may be attached to them, the little birds being considered to represent souls, which is a customary allegory. On one side is a corn-field, with five reapers, one cutting, another gathering up the sheaves, a third with a rake, a fourth with a flail, and the fifth with a sheaf upon his shoulders. On the back wall, under the arch of an *arcosolium*, is a figure cut through in the middle by an aperture for a grave, said to be a Good Shepherd, but very indistinct, with an inscription on the margin :—

REFRIGERI . IANVARIUS . AGATOPVS . FELICISSIMVS . MARTYRES.

This inscription in later characters, of the end of the fourth century, shews the desire to bury some one near those martyrs, who are thus addressed in the name of the defunct. This, therefore, identifies the *crypta quadrata* in which these martyrs were interred. The desire to be buried near the body of a martyr prevalent at that period, is well known, and is expressed by S. Ambrose in his hymn on the burial of his brother Satyrus, on the left of the martyr Victor †.

This celebrated square crypt is described by ancient authors as built, not merely excavated, and ornamented with marble plates, and under a building called the house of Marmenia, near the palace of Vespasian. It is known that this name was given in the Middle Ages to the buildings adjoining the Circus of Maxentius, originally called after his son Romulus, and now miscalled of Caracalla. The crypt re-discovered and excavated by Signor de Rossi is very near to these ruins, between them and the church of S. Urbanus, scarcely more than a hundred yards from either. The materials excavated were chiefly ruins of some ancient building thrown in from above,

† VRANIO SATYRO SUPREMUM FRATER
HONOREM
MARTYRIS AD LÆVAM DETULIT AM-
BROSIVS.
HÆC MERITI MERCES EST SACRI SAN-
GUINIS HUMOR,
FINITIMAS PENETRANS ABLUAT EX-
UVIAS.

S. Augustine also concludes his book *De cura pro mortuis gerenda*, with these words: "Quod vero quisque apud memorias martyrum sepelitur, hoc tantum mihi videtur prodesse defuncto, ut commendans eum etiam martyrum patrocinio, affectus pro illo supplicationis augeatur."

down the luminary or well for air and light; these ruins were, without doubt, those of the house of Marmenia, in which was probably one of the burial-chapels usual at the entrances to the Catacombs.

The family to which this great villa belonged was evidently one of considerable wealth and importance; it seems probable that the whole of this ground belonged to them, and that this crypt was originally their family burying-place. They may have become Christians at an early period; but it is remarkable that there is nothing distinctly Christian in the early paintings on the vault, and the Good Shepherd, the head of which De Rossi believes that he found upon the wall, is not necessarily Christian. There are no original *arco-solia* nor *loculi* in the walls of this square chamber; the interments were in stone sarcophagi, three of which were found in it by De Rossi: this does not agree with the legend that the square crypt was built by Marmenia to receive the remains of S. Urbanus, and that six other martyrs were interred in the upper part above him.

There are several other painted *cubicula* and *arco-solia* in this catacomb, but of much later character. In a chamber near to the principal entrance, a few yards farther along the road, is a marble sarcophagus of excellent sculpture, agreeing with the same period; it is mutilated, but some of the figures are perfect and distinctly Pagan. Nearly opposite to this second chamber, a little further along the road, is another *cubiculum*, the entrance arch of which is of still earlier character, and of finer brickwork than the rest, being entirely of the character of the time of Nero, so well known from his palace and his arches. In the chamber to which this arch opens, Signor de Rossi found another sarcophagus, which he considers as clearly one of a Christian martyr of the first century; he believes that it was originally built into the wall under the arch, that, at a subsequent period, the chamber was made behind this arch, and the sarcophagus was moved and placed in an *arco-solium* at the back of the chamber, in order that other persons might be buried in the chamber near the martyr, which was considered a great honour and privilege. This particular *cubiculum* was, therefore, not a family burial-vault like those in S. Priscilla. At a short distance along the road, on the same side as the principal entrance, is a doorway with a pediment of the same period over it; this has been mutilated and restored, but carefully, the original part preserved and replaced, and no attempt made to copy: therefore this is properly preservation rather than restoration, and is very creditable to Signor de Rossi, under whose direction it was done.

In the time of Gregory III., A.D. 740, it was called the ceme-

tery of S. Januarius and S. Urbanus. Under Hadrian I., A.D. 772, it was named after S. Urbanus and S. Tiburtius, S. Marcus, and S. Balbina; each of these was probably buried in a distinct vault or *cubiculum*.

Marcus I., A.D. 336, built a church or chapel over that part of this catacomb which contained the body of S. Balbina, which was endowed with land by Constantine^v. This church was restored A.D. 731 and 857.

This catacomb, in the larger sense of the word, has only been partially excavated; it is now divided into several parts, and called by different names, after different martyrs who have been buried in it. The corridor where the Gnostic paintings are, the entrance to which is on the other side from the Via Appia, near the Jews' catacomb, is also said to have originally formed part of it. It is described by Bosio, on the authority of Cencius, the chamberlain, as situated between the Porta Appia and the church of S. Apollinaris^z, and to have been connected with those of S. Sixtus and S. Cæcilia. It is called in another document^y the cemetery of S. Sixtus or S. Prætextatus, outside of the Porta Appia, on the Via Appia.

One of the galleries or corridors is simply an old sand-pit still, out of which the Pozzolana sand has been dug and carried. In this corridor there are no graves; it is merely a passage leading to the earliest part of the catacomb, which is probably of the first century. After the first gallery or corridor was filled to the limits of the hill or of the *prædium* (?), another was made below it. Probably it would take a century or more to fill each one of these corridors; and when all the *cœmeteria* or side-chapels were sold, even if they were not filled, the owners of the ground would make another corridor at a lower level, and in this the paintings would be naturally, and are in this instance, of a later period. In a rough way, as has been said, it may be reckoned that each corridor took about a century to be filled, or occupied, or for the ground to be sold. In this catacomb there are five corridors, one under the other. The upper one is an old sand-pit; then two corridors for graves with side-chapels; then, singularly enough, another old sand-pit, without graves, forming the fourth corridor, the entrance to which, at a lower level, is a quarter of a mile off; then a fifth corridor, of graves and

^v Anastasius, in c. xxxv. 49, says this was in the Via Ardeatina, that is, in the catacomb now called after Domitilla; in c. xcii. 204, he calls it in the Via Appia, this was in A.D. 731.

^z Of that church no remains are known to exist. May not this be the church now called S. Urban's?

^y Codex Vaticanus, apud De Rossi.

chapels. But some of the paintings in the lower corridor and its chapels are of the eighth century; they are not painted on a fresh coat of plaster over old paintings, but are original. Surely some of these chapels for family burying-places are the *cœmeteria* which Pope Paschal says *he made*²; the frescoes being of his time, A.D. 772^a.

In some excavations made under the direction of Signor de Rossi in 1870 in this catacomb, another long corridor was found by the side of the entrance, with *loculi* and a large chapel with a well and an *arco-solium*, and a sarcophagus with a graffito of the name of LVCENTIVS, and the salutation—

LVCENTI VIVAS

In another *cubiculum* there is a bas-relief in marble of Daniel and the lions.

Another catacomb on the Via Appia, which now has a separate entrance, but which had a communication with that of Prætextatus, is usually called the catacomb of the Gnostics; but is now said to be that of another sect, that of Mithras.

The paintings clearly shew that it was not a Christian burying-place. An account of it has been published by Father Marchi^b, who discovered it in 1826, and distinctly proved that they are Pagan (although they had been published by Bottari as Christian). In his work on the remains of Early Christian Art, Marchi describes other Pagan catacombs also: a small one which was found on the Via Latina, at a mile and a-half from Rome, in 1851, by Dom. Francesco Virili, in his vineyard, and was shewn to Father Marchi, and recognised by him as Pagan; another, on the Via Salaria Vecchia, at a mile from the Porta Pinciana, which had been described by Seroux d'Agincourt as Christian; at length a third and larger one in the Monte d'Oro, between the Porta Latina and the Porta Appia, within the walls of Rome, and near the Columbaria in the Vigna Codini. In 1852, Father Garrucci also published at Naples his Dissertation on the Tombs of the Worshippers of the Persian god Mithras, and of the Bacchus Sabazius. Their paintings were also described by Signor de Rossi in 1853^c.

^a See Anastasius in the Life of Paschal I.

^b For a more full account of the paintings in this catacomb, see the Appendix to this chapter, in the abstract of Perret, vol. i., plates 35 to 85.

^c See "La Civiltà Cattolica," anno 1853, pp. 462, 464. C. "Monumenti delle Arti Christiane primitive," and "Tre sepolcri con pitture ed iscrizioni appartenenti alle superstitione pagane

del Bacco Sabazio e del Perso dio Mitra, scoperti in un braccio del cimitero di Pretestato in Roma," &c. Napoli, 1852.

^c *Bullettino di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1853, pp. 87, 93.

Father Garrucci also published an account in French, with the title, "Les Mystères du Syncrétisme phrygien dans les catacombes de Prêtextat." 8vo. Paris, 1852.

In the first tomb, or *arco-solium*, on the left hand under the arch, is the figure of a woman, called Vibia, snatched up by Pluto, who is represented in a quadriga, guided by Mercury, who leads his victim to the shades below. Over the picture is the inscription ABREPTIO VIBIES ET DESCENSIO.

In the second picture under the arch, Pluto, called DISPATER, with his companion, ABRACVRA, is seated on an elevated tribunal to judge the rest. On the right, under his feet, are three figures, two women and one man, and over their heads is the inscription FATA DIVINA ; on the other side Mercury, MERCVRIVS NVNTIVS, guides to the judgment VIBIA, followed by ALCESTIS.

On the lunette at the back are two pictures : in the one, VIBIA, introduced to the dinner of the happy regions, INDVCTIO VIBIES, led by the hand by ANGELVS BONVS. And in the other picture is the dinner, with six persons, Vibia in the centre. Over the heads of these persons is written, BONORVM IVDICIO IVDICATIO.

In another picture are represented the seven priests of the god Mithras, their heads covered with the Phrygian cap. Over one is the name VINCENTIVS, and over the whole SEPTĒ SACERDOTES.

On the wall outside of the arch is another inscription, in an imperfect state ; the deficiencies have been supplied by Father Garrucci :

VINCENTI HOC ostius QVETES, QVOT VIDES . PLVRES ME ANTECESSERVNT,
 OMNES, EXPECTO
 MANOVCAVIBELVOEE BENI ATME . CVM VIBES . BENE PAC.
 HOC . TECVM FERES.
 NVMINIS . ANTISTES . SABAZIS . VINCENTIVS. Hic est VI
 SACRA SANCTA
 DEVM MENTE PIA.

Colit.

Opposite to this monument is another, with pictures, but without inscriptions. There are figures in military costumes, a woman with a crown of laurel, a man with a beard, who holds up on high in his right hand a lamb, killed, and points to five stars which shine in the sky with a *Venus Cælestis*. Lastly, on a third tomb, with an arch, one fragment of another inscription :—

M. AVR . QVI BASIA . VOLVPTATES, VT LOCV	P. M. S. D. S. I. M. IOCVM ALVMNIS . SVIS . DEDIT. E ET NATIS SVIS EN LOCVS . CARICL. SOPROLES.
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S. CALIXTUS^d.

This is one of the earliest of the catacombs; it is mentioned at a very early period as a burying-place then in use, not as being then just made. Michele de Rossi, in the course of his investigations in this catacomb, found a brick staircase and some brick *loculi*, evidently an alteration of and addition to the original catacombs, and the stamps on these bricks were those of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161—180. This staircase is in the lower part of the catacomb, made for the purpose of enlarging it, and seems to shew that the ground had been used as a cemetery in the first century. The original part was probably made before there were any Christians to be buried. Although the staircase is later, and the bricks used again, they were probably found on the spot^e.

Calixtus is said to have been entrusted with the government of the clergy, and set over *the cemetery* by Zephyrinus his predecessor, before he became bishop or pope^f. This expression, *over the cemetery*, seems to prove that the whole of the catacombs were considered as one cemetery, and that he had the general superintendence of the burial of the Christians.

This is the catacomb usually exhibited to strangers and now used for pilgrimages; its present state is very uninteresting to the archæologist. The upper part of it nearest to the entrance has been so much *restored* that it has lost all archæological importance. The paintings in this part have all been renewed, and thereby of necessity have lost all *historical* value. This portion of the catacomb is illuminated on certain occasions, and is employed to excite the devotion of the faithful. A low mass is said at an altar fitted up in the cemetery chapel of S. Cæcilia, on the anniversary of her martyrdom, and this part of the catacomb on that occasion is illuminated with candles.

The other parts are in the usual state, stripped of nearly every inscription, and the graves empty. The earliest inscription from this catacomb, of ascertained date, is of A.D. 268 or 279; it is dated by

^d For a full account of this catacomb, see the great work of Signor de Rossi, *Roma Sotterranea*, in two folio volumes, mentioned and referred to several times in this chapter. See also our Chronological Table, A. D. 233.

^e De Rossi found both Pagan sarcophagi and Pagan inscriptions in this catacomb, in excavations made under

his own eyes. (*Roma Sotterranea*, vol. ii. pp. 169, 281, 290.)

^f Santi Bartoli, in his *Memorie*, (ap. Fea, *Miscellanea*, p. 245), relates that in his time, in some excavations made in this catacomb, several tombs or sarcophagi were found, among them one that was gilt (*un sepolcro tutto messo ad oro*).

the names of the consuls, which would apply to either of these two dates. One important inscription of Bishop Damasus is preserved, and is valuable in many ways; it shews that the cemetery chapel, in which it was found, was made in his time, and the slab of marble on which it is engraved has a Pagan inscription on the back of it, evidently proving that it was used merely as a slab of marble, without reference to that inscription. It shews for what purpose *some* of the Pagan inscriptions found in the Catacombs may have been brought there⁸. Some of the original paintings^h remain in the lower part of this catacomb that have not been restoredⁱ, and these are of the usual subjects: Daniel and the two lions, Moses striking the rock, the raising of Lazarus, &c. Some of these are probably of the fourth century, and some much later. Three figures of Popes, with their names to them

⁸ Two small and very curious tombstones, consisting of mosaic pictures said to have been taken from this catacomb, are now preserved in the sacristy of the church of S. Maria in Trastevere. They were for some centuries in the nave, built into one of the piers; but during the *restorations* made in 1868-76, they were removed and built into the wall of the sacristy. One represents a landscape, with buildings in the style of the third century, and a harbour or a lake with a vessel, and fishermen dragging in a great net, evidently intended for the miraculous draught of fishes. This is an extremely curious mosaic picture, the probable date of which is the beginning of the fourth century. The other small mosaic represents birds of various kinds, and is much earlier than the view of the harbour, perhaps as early as the first century. Possibly the birds were intended to be symbolical of the souls of the faithful. These are engraved by Ciampini in his work on Mosaics.

^h Bosio gives, on eight plates, engravings of a number of vases and lamps found in this catacomb, several views of *cubicula*, and upwards of seventy paintings. The same subjects have been repeated by Perret and Signor de Rossi. (See Appendix.)

ⁱ There are still persons, both in England and on the Continent, who recommend and practise the *restorations* of ancient buildings, paintings, and sculptures. It is evident that a work which has been *restored* becomes the work of the hands that restored it. However good the copy may be, it is a copy still, and can never be the

same thing as the original. Archæologists require to see the works of each generation of man, and learn to distinguish one from the other by experience and careful observation. It has long been very positively asserted by persons supposed to be well informed on the subject, that a great part of the fresco paintings in this catacomb are *modern restorations*. But those who had the direction of the work for the Pope, and who must know the truth, assert positively that this was not the case, that the paintings have not been restored in their time, nor in that of their predecessor, Padre Marchi; they are not *modern* imitations, but are left as they were found. That several of them are works of the ninth century is extremely probable, almost certain; they are probably part of the numerous restorations of the Popes after the siege by the Lombards, when the catacombs were so much damaged intentionally, but there is no reason to suppose that there is any pious fraud in this case. It is singular that the figure of S. Cyprian, an African bishop and martyr, is given with others as if he had been buried here, which is extremely improbable. He was a friend and correspondent of one of the bishops of Rome, who was also a martyr, and this has probably led to the mistake. On the subject of the restoration of these paintings, see Mr. St. John Tyrwhitt's Essay in the Appendix to the Chapter on Tombs in this work. The Tombs and the Catacombs should always be taken together; every catacomb was a tomb, though all tombs had not catacombs under them.

written vertically instead of horizontally, Cornelius, Sixtus, Marcus, are part of the restorations of Leo III., A.D. 855; the character of the drawing and painting, and of the inscription, agrees perfectly with the mosaic pictures of the eighth and ninth centuries, in the churches of S. Mark, A.D. 828, S. Maria in Domnica, S. Prassede, and S. Cæcilia, all of which are dated examples of the ninth century.

According to the legends, the chapel in which S. Stephen^k was beheaded by order of the Emperor Valerian was in the catacomb of S. Calixtus: if so, his seat must have been a moveable piece of furniture, not cut out of the rock. The catacomb in which he had preached, and baptized so many persons, must have been that on the Via Ardeatina, where the well and the font may still be seen in the sand-pit road, by the side of the entrance to the Catacombs. There is another well, with steps down into it, for baptism by immersion, in the catacomb of S. Pontianus, on the other side of the Tiber, with a painting of the baptism of Christ over it; but that painting is of the eighth century, made for the pilgrims, and is no evidence that it was in use at this period, while the one on the Via Ardeatina is of early date. The remains of this seat are said to have been translated by Paul I., A.D. 757—768, along with those of S. Silvester, to the new church of S. Silvestro *in capite, Via Lata*, in the Campus Martius, which he had just built at the foot of the Pincian Hill, and are said on an inscription there of 1596, when Clement VII. restored the church, to have been still deposited under the high altar. But the church of S. Martin and Silvester on the Esquiline also lays claim to them.

This catacomb was sometimes called after S. Lucina, S. Zephyrinus, S. Hippolytus, S. Xistus or Sixtus, S. Cæcilia, S. Soter, all of whom are said to have been buried here in their different *cubicula*.

Part of the present cemetery of S. Calixtus was at one period separate from it, and was called "the Crypt of Lucina *near to the cemetery of Calixtus*." De Rossi has shewn by an inscription, that this was the tomb of the Gens Cæcilia, with their family catacomb under it. The frontage to the road was 100 ft., and the sides in the field were 230 ft. There are ruins of the tomb, which he thinks was probably Christian, and he cites Tertullian as evidence that the Christians had tombs and mausoleums from the first^l. The great apologist here quotes Isaiah, (chap. xxvi. ver. 20,) "Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers, and shut thy doors about thee: hide

^k See the Church of S. Stephen in Section II. of this Chapter.

^l "... et quæ enim ab ira Dei cellariorum nos refugia servabunt? ... Nam et

de cellariis non aliud effertur, quam quod infertur; et post Antichristi eradicationem agitabitur resurrectio." (Tertulliani Liber de Resurrectione carnis, c. 27.)

thyself as it were for a little moment, until the indignation be overpast." Tertullian applies this text to the cellars or crypts provided for depositing the bodies, and he mentions also the embalming of the bodies as a custom of his time^m, the beginning of the third century. Various inscriptions of the Gens Cæcilia have been found in this crypt, and De Rossi says they were all Christian, although a distinctly Pagan sarcophagus, which is engraved in his work, and copied by Dr. Northcote (p. 232), was found in this crypt. The crypt of *Saint Cæcilia* is distinct from this, and adjoins the crypt of the Pope. The crypt of S. Cornelius, re-discovered by Signor de Rossi, is also now part of this great cemetery; it is between that of Lucina and that of Calixtus. Fragments of two inscriptions were found here, which are put together with much ingenuity, and shew that a staircase to this crypt had been begun by Damasus when in his last illness, and finished by his successor Siriciusⁿ. The painting of S. Cornelius, found at the same time, is part of the *restoration* of Leo III.

The crypt of S. Soter now also forms part of the catacomb of S. Calixtus. She was buried in her own *cemetery, cœmeterio suo* (evidently a burial-vault in this instance), A.D. 304, and the Itineraries mention a separate church (or chapel) erected in her honour in the neighbourhood of S. Calixtus, yet distinct from it. The two cemeteries or crypts were distinct; but there was a passage from one to the other, probably from the beginning. This crypt has not yet been fully excavated.

The cemetery or crypt of S. Balbina is in the same immediate neighbourhood; it is placed by some of the Itineraries in the Via Appia, by others on the Via Ardeatina; it is really between the two roads, and was probably always connected with the others by the subterranean roads.

S. Soter and S. Zephyrinus are reckoned by Panvinius as distinct

^m "Proinde enim et corpora medicata umentis sequestrantur, processura inde condimentis sepultura mausoleis et monumentis cum jusserit dominus."

ⁿ "ASPICE, DESCENSU EXSTRUCTO TENEBRISQUE FUGATIS CORNELI MONUMENTA VIDES TUMULUMQUE SACRATUM. HOC OPUS ÆGROTI DAMASI PRÆSTANTIA FECIT, ESSET UT ACCESSUS MELIOR, POPULISQUE PARATUM AUXILIUM SANCTI, ET VALEAS SI FUNDERE PURO CORDE PRECES, DAMASUS MELIOR CONSURGERE POSSET, QUEM NON LUCIS AMOR, TENUIT MAGE CURA LABORIS."

"Behold! a way down has been constructed, and the darkness dispelled; you see the monuments of Cornelius, and his sacred tomb. This work the zeal of Damasus has accomplished, sick as he is, in order that the approach might be better, and the aid of the saint might be made convenient for the people; and that, if you will pour forth your prayers from a pure heart, Damasus may rise up in better health, though it has not been love of life, but care for work, that has kept him [here below]."

catacombs on the Via Appia; they are now considered part of S. Calixtus^o.

VIA LATINA.

“The eighth is the gate of S. John, which by the ancients was called Asenaria.

“The ninth gate is called Metrosa; and in front of both these runs the Latin Way.

“The tenth is called the Latin gate and way. Near this, in one church, lie the martyrs Gordianus and Epimachus, Sulpicius, Servilianus, Quintinus, Quartus, Sophia, Triphenus. Near this, too, in another spot, Tertullinus, and not far distant, the church of S. Eugenia, in which she lies, and her mother Claudia, and pope Stephen, with nineteen of his clergy, and Nemesius the deacon^p.”

These three roads meet, and become the Via Latina; this road crosses the Via Appia Nova, and runs on the eastern side of the Via Appia Antiqua, and not distant from it for the first mile or two from Rome.

Fabretti, in his work on Inscriptions (c. viii.), mentions the discovery of catacombs on the Via Latina, one of which he considers to be that of Tertullinus, and gives a plan of it.

On the Via Appia Nova, at the fourth mile from Rome, the Cavaliere Guidi found a Christian tomb, with a fine sarcophagus, on which was a sculpture of Jonah cast into the sea; and in a coffin the remains of a body wrapped in a dress of cloth of gold, and on the mouth was a coin of Julian the Apostate. The sarcophagus he presented to the Lateran Museum.

The catacombs on the Via Latina can hardly be separated from those on the Via Appia.

^o For a detailed catalogue of the subjects of the paintings in this catacomb, see the Appendix to this chapter;

Bosio; Perret, plates 15 to 34; and De Rossi.

^p William of Malmesbury, p. 423.

VII. CATACOMBS ON THE VIA LABICANA.

“The seventh is called, at present, the Greater gate (Porta Maggiore), formerly the Sircurina (Esquilina?); and the way the Lavicanian, which leads to S. Helena. Near this are Peter, Marcellinus, Tyburtinus, Geminus, Gorgonius, and the forty soldiers^q, and others without number; and a little farther the Four Coronati^r.”

SS. PETER AND MARCELLINUS.

THE Mausoleum of S. Helena^s was built by herself, at the entrance to this catacomb, and was intended to be not only her own burial-place, but the burial-chapel for the Catacombs. She died in Palestine in her eightieth year, and her sarcophagus must have been prepared for her by herself, or her daughter in her lifetime. There is not the least probability that Constantine, who never resided at Rome, would have gone to all this expense merely for a memorial tomb, to which he did not send the body of his mother^t.

The principal entrance to the catacomb was by this chapel, passing through the sacristy, and then descending by forty steps to the level of the first corridor. Over the entrance from the sacristy is an inscription, recording that these steps were repaired by Cardinal N. Corsini in 1769. Within is one of the effigies in honour of the two martyrs after whom the catacomb is named. This is placed in a chapel on the left-hand, rebuilt in 1779, but shewing that there was a chapel at the entrance of the catacomb before the time of S. Helena. A number of inscriptions found in this catacomb have been preserved in various places, and printed by Gruter and others; some are let into the wall at the entrance to the Mausoleum. From this it is evident that this was

^q The forty soldiers suffered martyrdom under Licinius, at Sebastia, in Armenia.

^r So called, because for a long time after they had suffered martyrdom (*martyrio coronati*), their names were unknown; and though afterwards their real names were revealed to a certain priest, yet they still continued to retain their former designation. See Sharpe's William of Malmesbury, p. 422.

^s “. . . Augustus Constantinus fecit basilicam beatissimis martyribus Marcelino presbytero et Petro exorcistæ inter Duas Lauros, et mausoleum, ubi beatissima mater ipsius sepulta est Helena Au-

gusta, in sarcophago porphyretico, Via Lavicana, milliario ab urbe Roma tertio. In quo loco . . . posuit dona voti sui,” &c. (Anastasius Biblioth. in vita S. Silvestri, xxxiv. 44.)

^t “Her body was honoured with special tokens of respect, being escorted in its way to the imperial city by a vast train of guards, and there deposited in a royal tomb.” (Eusebius, Life of Constantine, iii. 47.) The imperial city in the time of Constantine was Constantinople: if the body had been sent to Rome, it would have been sent by sea; and this tomb is not in the city, but three miles from it.

the burial-place of the foreign legion of the guard of the Emperors, which they always had in their character of Pontifex Maximus, a custom continued by the Popes to our own day^u.

This catacomb was formerly called after S. Helena, as it is in fact the family burying-place under her tomb, and the entrance to it was as usual through the tomb itself, as we have said. In it is a chapel with an altar cut out of the tufa rock, the flat roof supported by four detached columns, and at the opposite end an arm-chair cut out of the rock, of which an engraving is given by Boldetti, and by Perret^v.

S. Gorgonius, S. Tiburtius, and S. Castulus, are also said to have been buried in this catacomb.

It is very extensive, and four stories deep; being made in a harder stone than usual, the corridors are more narrow. Some of the original work is probably as early as the third century, but nothing of that period of any definite character remains visible. A tombstone dated A.D. 292, and another of A.D. 307, were found in it. It has been much repaired and restored in the seventh and eighth centuries by Honorius I., A.D. 626, and again by Hadrian I., A.D. 772. There are several brick walls and arches of those periods, some round-headed, others triangular. All the paintings are of those periods, chiefly the latter; some of them are fine of their kind and well-preserved, others are inferior and mutilated; the subjects are the usual ones^w.

In the first chapel described by Bosio, the paintings are much decayed; but enough remains to shew the style and the subjects. They are very rude, the heads coarse and vulgar-looking, but very expressive; the costumes are those of the seventh century.

Second painting: a chapel with painted vault and *arco-solium*;

^u One of these inscriptions is as follows, and serves as an example of the others. The person interred was evidently a Pagan.

D. M.

T. AVREL. SVMVVS . EQ.
SING. AVG. CLAUDIO .
VIRVNO . NAT. NORIC.
VIX. ANN. XXVII. MIL.
ANN. VIII. P. ÆLIVS .
SEVERVS . HERES .
AMIC. OPTIM. F. C.

Diis Manibus. Titus Aurelius Summus eques singularis Augusti Claudio Viruno natus Noricus. Vixit annos xxvii. militavit annos viii. Publicus Ælius Severus, heres, amico optimo fieri curavit.

^v S. John III. is said to have re-

mained and dwelt in the catacomb of SS. Tiburtius and Valerianus, which is part of that of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, and to have consecrated bishops there. The probable explanation of this is that he dwelt in the great tomb of S. Helena, at the entrance to this catacomb, and consecrated in the chapel there. A modern church has been made in a small part of the tomb, which has no longer any roof; but the tomb itself was originally used as a chapel also.

^w Bosio gives a plan of this catacomb, and views of fourteen *cubicula* and three *arco-solia* and a hundred paintings, mostly repetitions of the same subjects. Several of these have been repeated in the great work of Perret, and by others. See Appendix.

the paintings are much mutilated, but can be made out. Under the arch is an agape, or the marriage-feast of Cana, with the urns or water-vases; on the vault, in the centre, is the Good Shepherd, with goats and other animals; on the sides, the history of Jonah, and orantes draped in surplice and stole, as usual; two of these are females, one with a crown on her head and flowing locks. In one corner is a seat, built of brick, plastered over.

Third painting: a burial-chapel or *cubiculum*, the paintings well preserved, but late. The subjects are the usual ones, from the history of Jonah. Under the arch an orante, with a veil, and two other figures addressing her, one on either side, with trees between. On the rest of the arch, Noah in the ark, Moses striking the rock, Adam and Eve, birds, and festoons of flowers; the panels separated by broad red borders. On the vault, in the centre, the Good Shepherd; on the sides, four subjects from the life of Jonah, four orantes.

Fourth painting: a chapel or *cubiculum*, with an air-shaft or *luminare*. On the vault, a large figure of Christ, with the Λ and Ω . Over the tomb, four figures, with the names of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, Claudius, Tiburtius.

Fifth painting: a small *cubiculum* or burial-chapel, the paintings fairly preserved, the usual subjects. On the vault, in the centre, the Good Shepherd; on the sides, four subjects from Jonah, four orantes, one has the name HAIO over her. The lines separating the panels are the usual broad red lines, and some of them are engrailed at the edges. Under the arch is a Madonna with the Child, and two Magi with offerings. On the wall, Moses striking the rock, Noah in the ark, four orantes.

Fabretti, in his work on Inscriptions (c. viii.), mentions the finding of a catacomb on the Via Labicana, which he considers to be that of Castulus^x, and gives the inscription found there.

About half-a-mile farther down this road than the monastery of S. Helena, is another catacomb called after her name. It was discovered only a few years since, and there is said to be a subterranean passage from this to the great catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus. One end of a passage or corridor going in that direction is visible, but how far it extends has not been ascertained. This catacomb differs from many others in having fine mosaic pavements, and a gradual descent into it, ornamented in the same manner, instead of stairs. It has evidently been the burial-place of some family of importance and wealth, and not of the poor, as so many of

^x For an account of this catacomb road, see our Chronological Table, A. D. of S. Castulus at the first mile on the 300.

the others have been. It is situated in the garden of a gentleman's villa, and this has probably been always the case. The present modern villa only replaces one of the time of the early Empire. Many fragments of fine sculpture and terra-cotta ornaments found on the spot are now built into the walls of the modern buildings. The ground on which it was called after S. Helena seems rather doubtful; but it was so considered by the antiquaries of the day at the time it was found, and the Pope gave it that name in accordance with their opinion. The style of the pavements and the ornaments agree with the second century rather than the time of Constantine. There are several patterns in the mosaic pavements, and all of them good. The approach by an incline, instead of stairs, is a very unusual feature, believed to be unique in the Catacombs. Whatever sarcophagi, or tombstones with inscriptions, may have been there, have been all carried away.

VIA NONENTANA.—S. AGNES.

"The fifth is called the Numentan gate. There lies S. Nicomede, priest and martyr; the way too is called by the same name. Near the road are the church and body of S. Agnes; in another church, S. Emerenciana, and the martyrs Alexander, Fœlix, Papias; at the seventh stone on this road, rests the holy Pope Alexander, with Eventius and Theodolus⁷."

S. Agnes is one of the great saints of the Church and the special patroness of purity. She suffered martyrdom at the age of thirteen, in the beginning of the great persecution of Diocletian, about A.D. 303, and is described by Prudentius, in his hymn upon her passion, as a model of courage and purity⁸. He mentions her tomb as within sight of Rome, and in her own house, that is, under the church erected in her honour. This catacomb is just beyond the church of the same name, about two miles from Rome; the original entrance to it was through the church, which for that reason is partly subterranean, having been originally a cemetery chapel. The earliest dated tombstone found in it is A.D. 291. Part of this catacomb was made by Constantia, the daughter of Constantine; it is one of the finest of Rome: the galleries are higher and wider, and the chapels have more architectural character than most of the others. The present entrance has been broken through in comparatively modern times; and there was another entrance through an *arenarium* or sand-pit, which remains, and in this is

⁷ William of Malmesbury, p. 422.

⁸ "Agnes sepulchrum est Romulea in domo, Fortis puellæ, martyris inclytæ. Conspectu in ipso condita turrium

Servat salutem Virgo Quiritium :
Necnon et ipsos protegit advenas,
Puro ac fidei pectore supplices," &c.
(Aurel. Prudentii Peristeph. hymn. xiv.
"Passio Agnetis Virginis," v. 1.)

a square opening down to the upper gallery of the catacomb below, evidently for hoisting up the sand excavated in the sand-pit, and over it is a recess, above the line of the vault, for the pulley to work in. There is a great original flight of steps, or staircase, cut in the tufa down from the sand-pit to the catacomb, and there are two other flights of steps from one gallery to another. The material is hard tufa, but with a thin bed of Pozzolana sand at about 4 ft. from the ground of the corridors and *cubicula*, throughout the whole catacomb, which is very extensive, and only partially excavated. The present entrance is by a steep flight of steps, probably of the sixteenth century.

This catacomb was sometimes called *Cœmeterium majus*, also *Ostri-
anum*, and "ad Nymphas S. Petri," "Fons S. Petri," and S. Nico-
medes. All these names probably belong to different *cubicula* in the
great cemetery. Bosio describes some parts which have not since
been discovered.

Signor de Rossi is of opinion that one of the two chairs of S. Peter was placed in one of these chambers, and was an object of pilgrimage, as mentioned in the *Mirabilia*. Panvinius considers this as the earliest of the Catacombs.

A part of this great catacomb was probably made during the persecution under Julian the Apostate, A.D. 360, 363. The remembrance of the great persecution at the end of the third century was then fresh in the memory of the people, and they were anxious to provide against the recurrence of another persecution of the same kind. Such precautions as were here taken are just such as would be dictated by experience and prudence. The present appearance of this catacomb is just as early as any of the others; the corridors are rather wider and higher, but that is the only difference.

It is in this catacomb that Bishop Liberius is said to have taken refuge for a time on his return from exile, during the persecution of Julian the Apostate. He resided with his relation Constantius, in order that, by his intervention, he might be brought back to the city, which was eventually done. The probability is that he resided with the Emperor Constantius II. (a Christian) in the Imperial Villa, to which the large building called the Hippodrome of Maxentius belonged. This is close to the church and catacomb of S. Agnes, and he could be hidden there in case of need. It is possible that the whole of this passage in Anastasius^a is one of the interpolations, but

^a "Rediens autem Liberius de exsilio, per ejus interventionem, aut rogatum habitavit in cœmeterio sanctæ Agnetis rediret Liberius in civitatem. Tunc apud germanam Constantii, ut quasi Constantia Augusta, quæ fidelis erat

not probable; the explanation proposed is consistent with the account given by Liberius himself, or his successor in this Pontifical Register, supposing it to be genuine.

In the year 1870 the monks of the monastery attached to the Church of S. Agnes excavated a small portion of this catacomb where it joined on to the church; but they were not then able to carry on the excavations far enough to shew the connection between this portion and the great Catacomb, as the vault had there fallen in between the recent excavations and the great Catacomb, the present entrance to which is at some distance further down the road. They had the good sense to leave everything exactly as they found it, with the graves unopened. The face of each *loculus* (or grave cut in the rock) is covered by either tiles or marble slabs, fragments of earlier tombstones. The inscriptions are sometimes painted on the tiles, sometimes scratched on them, and in the case of marble generally rudely cut. One is in mosaic letters, the only one in the Catacombs; the character of the letters is of the fourth century. In this small branch of the Catacomb a tombstone, with a Pagan inscription, remained on the floor standing against the wall, the back of the slab left rough with the plaster on the edges, evidently for fixing it against the wall. According to the theory of the Roman Church, this was merely brought down into the Catacomb for the purpose of being *there* polished and engraved on the reverse, now rough, then cut up and fixed across the openings of *loculi*. This theory appears very improbable: the Catacombs were not likely to be used as stonemasons' yards, even in the times of persecution, and at other times there would be no need for it.

The excavations were continued to a much greater extent in 1871; but the good monks soon arrived at a part of the Catacomb that had been thoroughly rifled, as is usual in the other Catacombs, and here they found the name of BOSIO written on the wall, which shews the period when much of the rifling of the Catacombs took place. The part first opened was just as it was left in the ninth century, after the restoration by the Popes.

On the grand staircase leading down into the church of S. Agnes, the walls are covered with the remains of old tombstones and fragments of carved sarcophagi, some of which give the dates by the names of the consuls, and some are of distinctly Pagan character.

Domino Jesu Christi, voluit rogare Constantium Augustum germanum suum, quia senserat consilium doli."—Anast., c. xxxvii, p. 30.

One of the sculptures is of a fawn, with other figures, and one of the inscriptions begins with the usual D. M. for *Diis Manibus*.

The six painted chambers described and published by Bosio, and by others after him, remain unaltered; but the paintings are much damaged, and this has evidently been done wilfully in some cases. Others are very black, probably from the use of torches to shew them in former times, as at S. Priscilla and others; at present, in all cases, wax tapers only are used. The paintings are chiefly of the fourth and fifth centuries, and some appear to be by the same hand as some of those in S. Priscilla.

1. The first cemetery chapel from the present entrance has evidently been made for a school-room: there are two seats for the teachers, resembling two plain arm-chairs, one on each side of the door, and a bench for the children, all cut out of the tufo rock. The chamber is about 8 ft. square, with a quadripartite groined vault; and there are *loculi* for bodies, or graves in the walls, as usual. It may have been painted; but if so, the plaster and painting has all fallen off. Many parts of this catacomb are very damp, as is seen by the stalactite upon the vault and walls, and this would account for the falling off of the plaster.

2. The second cemetery chapel appears to be quite plain; it seems to be small also, but is only excavated to a short distance from the door. It is passed over by Bosio altogether; probably the doorway to it had not been observed in his time.

3. The third chapel is painted; this is the first on the list of Bosio, who calls the school-room "Cubiculum in aditu Cœmeterii." This chapel is small, and has been richly painted, but the painting is not early. The principal subject is an agape or marriage-feast, or funeral-supper. Seven persons are seated round a semicircular or *lunette* table, with the *triclinium* or cushion to lean upon between them and the table; in front of the table, in the hollow space in the centre, are seven water-pots, probably the vases for the water turned into wine. This painting is now much mutilated, but the design is given by Bosio. On the vault is the Good Shepherd, and on the side Daniel and the lions. The panels are divided by broad bands, with festooned edges like ingrailed work of later times, and there are remains of four orantes on the angles of the groined vault, draped in white surplices with black stoles or borders.

4. The fourth cemetery chapel is small, and also richly painted with the usual subjects, but late, with festoons of flowers and baskets of fruit, birds, and other ornaments.

5. The fifth cemetery chapel (the third of Bosio^b) is also richly painted with many of the usual subjects: the ten Virgins with their lamps; the three Children in the furnace, in a remarkable costume, in trousers, with stripes, continued over the shoulders.

In the work of Father Garrucci (plate ix. fig. 6) is the foot of a glass vase from this catacomb, with three figures and two scrolls or rolls of parchment between them. Over the head of the central figure, a female, is the name *MARIA*, by the side of the right-hand figure *PETRVS*, and on the left *PAVLVS*. The costumes, the attitudes, the style of art, and the form of the letters, seem to agree with the fifth century. Maria is holding out her hands to the two Apostles, who are addressing her; but neither of these three figures is in the attitude of prayer or adoration. On another vase on the same plate, Maria is represented more decidedly in the attitude of prayer, between the same two Apostles; and in this they are also addressing her, but not praying to her, and each has his roll or volume of Epistles in his hand. On several other vases Maria is standing alone in the attitude of prayer; in one between two trees, with tongues of flame; in another with a bird speaking in each ear; in another two rolls or volumes (the Old and New Testaments?), and in each case she stands between two trees. In each case Maria has the well-known badge of servitude over her shoulders, in other respects the costumes are different, but all agreeing with the period after the fourth century rather than before it, as does the style of drawing. Maria seems to be symbolical of the Christian Church.

Another vase from this catacomb is engraved in Garrucci's work (plate xlii. fig. 2); it was found here in 1698, and engraved in the work of Buonarroti (p. 216). It represents the usual personifications of the earth and water, or Neptune in the arms of Amphitrite, with the usual genii and other attributes; the legend round the margin of the picture is *RIS . VIVAS . VALEAS . VINCAS*, and round the border of a crown, carried by one of the genii, is the Greek word *ΚΑΠΕΘ*. This seems to admit of no other interpretation than a Pagan one. The character of the art is of the third century. Another vase, said to have been found in this catacomb, and engraved in Aringhi, vol. i. p. 508, and in Garrucci, plate xli. fig. 2, is of Pagan character, but this is pronounced by Garrucci to be spurious.

^b For more full particulars of the paintings in this catacomb, see the Appendix to this chapter, in the contents of Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 441 to 475, and Perret, *Catacombes de Rome*, vol. ii., p. 1 to 54.

S. ALEXANDER °.

The catacomb of S. Alexander was discovered in 1855 by accident, and excavated by Ch. Guidi. It is situated on the Via Nomentana, at seven miles from Rome, by the side of the ruins of the church through which is the entrance to it.

S. Alexander is said by Oldoini the Jesuit, in his additions to Ciaconius, to have been the son of Victoria, and a pupil of Pliny the Younger and Plutarch, and to have received martyrdom by being chained to the ground. His relics were translated from this catacomb to Lucca by Alexander II., in 1070, and deposited under the high altar there, together with the chair with which he was buried, as stated on an inscription. The possession of his relics is however claimed also by several other churches. They are said to have been given by Leo III. to Charlemagne, and deposited at Saint-Denis, near Paris. The churches of S. Sabina on the Aventine, and S. Lorenzo in Lucina, also lay claim to them, and have inscriptions to that effect, the latter dated in 1196.

Three letters of this saint are extant, besides his decrees, which are considered important. According to some modern authors, he took refuge in the Catacombs during the persecution, but there is no early evidence of this.

SS. PRIMUS, FELICIANUS, AND MAXIMIANUS^d.

The catacomb of SS. Primus, Felicianus, and Maximianus (who were martyrs in the great persecution under Diocletian, A.D. 303), is situated on the Via Nomentana at the fourteenth mile from Rome, in the district called *Ad Arcus Nomentanos*. There is a small church over the entrance to it about a mile from Mentana, on the field of battle in 1867 between the Garibaldians on one side, and the Pontifical army supported by the French on the other^e. These saints and martyrs are commemorated on the fifth of June in the Roman Martyrology. This catacomb was originally a sand-pit, and the bodies of the martyrs, or the relics of them, were carried by Pope

^c See the Church of S. Alexander in section xii.

^d "Corpus beatissimi Alexandri primi Pont. Max. martyrio coronati una cum catena qua vinctus custodiebatur, ab Alexandro secundo in ara hujus templi subterranea conditum debita cum reverentia fuit in hoc altare translatum cu-

rante nobili viro Joanne Arnolphinio ædi." (Inscription.)

^e F. Gori (Dal Ponte Salario di Roma a Fidene, &c., Roma, 1863, 12mo., pp. 74, 75) says that the catacomb of S. Restitutus is also visible near Monte Rotondo, at the sixteenth mile on the Via Nomentana. See Aringhi, lib. iii. cap. 19.

Theodorus I., A.D. 686, to the church of S. Stefano Rotondo on the Cœlian.

VIA TIBURTINA.

“The sixth is the Tiburtine gate and way, which is now called S. Lawrence’s; near this way lies S. Lawrence in his church, and Habundius the martyr; and near this, in another church, rest these martyrs, Ciriaca, Romanus, Justinus, Crescentianus; and not far from hence the church of S. Hippolytus, where he himself rests, and his family, eighteen in number; there too repose S. Trifonia, the wife of Decius, and his daughter Cirilla, and her nurse Concordia. And in another part of this way, is the church of Agapitus the martyr^f.”

S. CYRIACA AND S. LORENZO.

In the Pontifical Register of S. Silvester, A.D. 320, given in Anastasius^g, it is recorded that the church of S. Laurentius, martyr (S. Lorenzo, f.m.), was built upon the sand-pit crypt, with steps to descend into it, and ascend from it. As the apse is mentioned immediately afterwards, there can be no doubt that the high altar was placed over this sand-pit, which must also have been the burial-place of the martyr. The custom of having under the altar a crypt called a *confessio*, with descending and ascending steps, which was so generally followed in the Middle Ages, probably had its origin in this manner, by building the altar over the sand-pit crypt in which the martyr had been buried.

S. Cyriaca is said to have been a lady of noble family and high rank, and to have been made a martyr under the Emperor Valerian^h. She is said to have lived on the Cœlian, and the church of S. Maria Domnica to have been originally in the hall of her house. Her catacomb (which was probably made on one of her farms) is adjoining to the church and monastery and burial-ground of S. Lorenzo fuori delle mura, and was one of the most celebrated catacombs or ceteries. It was discovered, or rather re-discovered, by Bosio, in 1593, and he has published a number of inscriptions from tombstones found in it, but no paintings. Of these inscriptions some have the dates of A.D. 295, 296, 297, 298, 301, and one is dated by the name of the consul Phocas, as late as A.D. 604.

^f Will. Malmesb. Gesta Angl., vol. ii. p. 541. The catacomb of S. Cyriaca is called by Panvinius also Crypta Tiburtina.

^g “Eodem tempore Constantinus Augustus fecit basilicam beato Laurentio martyri, via Tiburtina in agrum Veranum supra Arenarium cryptæ et us-

que ad corpus B. Laurentii martyris, in qua fecit gradum ascensionis et descensionis. In quo loco construxit absidam.” (Anastasius, 43.)

^h Her legend is given in the Roman Martyrology, on the 12th of September, and in the Acta Martyrum.

S. Laurentius, or Lorenzo, is one of the great saints of the Church, whose praise has been recounted in all ages. He is said to have been a Spaniard, and to have been a martyr in the persecution under Valerian, A.D. 258. Prudentius has a hymn on his passion¹, which relates all that is really known about him, the acts of his martyrdom being of late compilation and of no authority. He was ordained deacon by S. Xystus, and called his archdeacon, though very young. He is mentioned by nearly all the fathers of the fourth century, and the great church over his tomb was originally built in the time of Constantine, although it has been rebuilt. It was one of the five great Basilicas or Cathedrals of Rome endowed by that emperor, who established the first Deans and Chapters in these cathedrals, and divided the Imperial estates in the Campagna of Rome among them. He is said to have been buried in this catacomb by S. Justin the priest, with other martyrs, Claudius, a sub-deacon, Severus, a priest, Crescentius, a reader (*lector*), and Romanus, a porter. The bodies of S. Irenæus and Abundius are also reported to have been saved from the *cloaca* into which they had been thrown, and buried in this catacomb also by Justin, near to the body of S. Laurence. The remains of S. Triphonia, wife of the Emperor Decius, and her daughter Cyrilla, who were made martyrs on the fifth of November, were also buried here by Justin, with those of several other saints and martyrs. S. Justin himself was sacrificed on the first of August, and deposited in this catacomb. Three bishops or popes were also interred here, Zosimus, Sixtus III., and Hilary^k.

The entrance to this catacomb was originally from the church of S. Lorenzo *fuori delle mura*, which had been built over the original small chapel at the entrance, and the memory of this was preserved by a chapel in the aisle to the left of the altar, or north side, called the "Chapel of the Souls of the Saints" (*Cappella delle anime sante*), as recorded by an inscription in gold on the screen^l. On the side of the steps, are sculptures to represent the taking of souls out of purgatory. The altar of the chapel is placed under a baldachino or canopy, supported by two separate shafts, and on it is a sculpture of the body of Christ as dead. These belong to the decorations in

¹ Prudentii Peristeph. hymn. ii.

^k The construction and present state of this catacomb has been partly described in the third section of this chapter.

^l HAEC EST TVMBA ILLA TOTO ORBE
TERRARVM CELEBERRIMA

EX COEMETERIO S^E. CIRIACAE MA-
TRONAE
VBI SACRVM SI QVIS FECERIT PRO
DEFVNCTIS
EORVM ANIMAS E PVRGATORIIS POENIS
DIVI LAVRENTII MERITIS EVOCABIT.

marble, executed by the Canons in 1677. The door has been walled up since 1821, and a grating is placed to look into the catacomb, or rather from the catacomb into the church. At the foot of the steps is another semi-circular chapel, in which are an altar of white marble and three antique busts in alto-relievo, with the names of S. STEPH. S. LAURENT. S. PETR.

This catacomb is very extensive, but very plain, and not very interesting. The corridors are about half-a-mile long, and there are three stories but only partially excavated and quite plain, no paintings and no *cubicula* being in the parts that are accessible. In some of the corridors the *loculi* or graves cut in the rock have not been opened; the bones remain in them, and the tiles with which the mouth of each grave is closed have not been moved. The rock is unusually hard for the purpose: consequently the corridors or passages, or streets as they are sometimes called, are very narrow, and not lofty, some being not more than 5 ft. high at the present time; but this is probably because the earth has not been entirely cleared away in the foot-paths. There is one doorway with the arch closed with a piece of marble, in which is the monogram of Christ, with the Λ and Ω , marking the fourth century; but this is probably an alteration or filling up of the doorway at the end of one of the passages. The work itself appears to be early. It is entirely cut out of the hard rock as tunnels; in one place only, as far as could be seen, is there any repair with bricks. The entrance is about a quarter of a mile from the church, and at the other end of the corridor is the grating opening into the church. There were *cubicula* or painted vaults on one side, until about the year 1860, when they were cut away with a part of the rock itself and some of the corridors, to enlarge the great public cemetery of S. Lorenzo. At the present time one side of several of the corridors, and two of the *cubicula*, have been cut away: so that we have an actual section of this catacomb, not merely an imaginary one made by an artist. We see how the passages go up and down, and in various directions, according to the hardness or softness of the rock in which the *fossores* or grave-diggers had to work.

Three inscriptions, given by Bosio and Aringhi, shew that this catacomb was in use in the fourth, fifth, and seventh centuries, by the names of the consuls^m upon them. The relics of S. Cyriaca (or

^m A Ω BENEMERITO
POMPEIO QVI VIXIT
MENSIBVS XI D VI
DEPOSITVS IN PACE

DIE XVI KAL. SEPT.
AVSONIO ET
OLYBRIO CONSS.

(A.D. 369.)

Domnica), the holy widow, who had been originally the proprietor of this cemetery, and interred here, were translated from the catacomb to the church of S. Martino in Monte, by Sergius II., A.D. 844.

S. HIPPOLYTUS AD NYMPHAS.

The catacomb of S. Hippolytus is distinct from that of S. Cyriaca^a, although it has often been treated as part of the same. It is very large, the entrance is in the vineyard of Monsignor Gori on the left of the Via Tiburtina, near the church of S. Lorenzo fuori delle mura. There S. Hippolytus was buried by S. Justin the priest; a tombstone of A.D. 290 was found in it; and at the entrance are remains of the church of S. Stephen, a Roman martyr^o. In this catacomb was this inscription: REFR[I]GERI TIBI DOMNVS IPOLITVS SID.

S. Hippolytus is said to have been a martyr in the persecution of Gallus, A.D. 252, and to have been torn to pieces by wild horses at Ostia. Prudentius has a hymn on his passion, which contains an

FL. STELLICONE VC
SVB DIE X KAL SEPTEN
BRES EMIT SOTERES
SE VIVA ET MARITO
SVO VERNACOLO CON
PARI SVO EMIT A CELERINO FOS
(A.D. 400.)
. . . . OCAE III COS
. . . . CARI AMICI

This fragment relates to the third consulate of Phocas, A.D. 610.

Another inscription on a tombstone begins thus: IN CRYPTA NOBA, or *nova*, a 'new' crypt.

IN CRYPTA NOBA RETRO SAN
CTVS EMERVV SE VIVAS BALER
RAE T. SABINAMERVV LOC
VBISONI A BAPRONE ET A
BIATORE.

In the Kircherian Museum a palimpsest inscription is preserved, mentioned by Ficoroni as found in this catacomb. One side is Pagan, the other Christian, evidently one of the instances of an old marble plate being used again.

D. M.

Q. MEDICVS AVG LIB.
A SOLO SIBI FECIT
HOC CENOTAFIV QVI
NTA VITALIS FILIA MEA
POSSIDEBET SINE CONTRO
VERSIA.

✠ CONSTANTIV DISCOLIO
FRATRI SVO BENEMERENTI

QVI VIXIT ANNIS PLVS MINVS
LXIII BENEMERENTI IN PACE.

^a F. Gori, della Porta e Basilica di S. Lorenzo, delle Catacombe di S. Cyriaca, della Basilica di S. Stefano martire Romano, delle Catacombe di S. Ippolito soldato e ad Nymphas, e del Camposanto di Roma. Roma, 1862.

"Talibus Hippolyti corpus mandatur opertis

Propter ubi apposita est ara dicata Deo.

Illa Sacramenti donatrix mensa, eademque

Custos fida sui Martyris apposita.

Servat ad æterni spem iudicis ossa sepulchro;

Pascit item sanctis Tibricolas dapibus."

(Aurel. Prudentius, Peristeph. hymn. xi. v. 169.)

For more full particulars of the paintings in the catacomb of S. Cyriaca, see the Appendix to this chapter, Bosio, lib. iii. c. 41, p. 405 to 413; and Perret, 37 to 48.

^o "(Adrianus Papa I.) simul et cœmeterium beati Hippolyti juxta sanctum Laurentium, quæ a priscis marcuerant temporibus, a novo renovavit: pari modo et ecclesiam beati Christi martyris Stephani, sitam juxta prædictum cœmeterium sancti Hippolyti, similiter restauravit." (Anastas. Biblioth. in S. Adr., 97.)

admirable description of a catacomb ; it has been thus translated by Dr. Northcote :—

“Not far from the city walls, among the well-trimmed orchards, there lies a crypt buried in darksome pits. Into its secret recesses a steep path with winding stairs directs one, even though the turnings shut out the light. The light of day, indeed, comes in through the doorway as far as the surface of the opening, and illuminates the threshold of the portico ; and when, as you advance further, the darkness as of night seems to get more and more obscure throughout the mazes of the cavern, there occur at intervals apertures cut in the roof which convey the bright rays of the sun upon the cave. Although the recesses, twisting at random this way and that, form narrow chambers with darksome galleries, yet a considerable quantity of light finds its way through the pierced vaulting down into the hollow bowels of the mountain. And thus throughout the subterranean crypt it is possible to perceive the brightness and enjoy the light of the absent sun. To such secret places is the body of Hippolytus conveyed, near to the spot where now stands the altar dedicated to God. That same altar-slab (*mensa*) gives the sacrament, and is the faithful guardian of its martyr's bones, which it keeps laid up there in expectation of the eternal Judge, while it feeds the dwellers of the Tiber with holy food. Wondrous is the sanctity of the place ! the altar is at hand for those who pray, and it assists the hopes of men by mercifully granting what they need. Here have I, when sick with ills both of soul and body, oftentimes prostrated myself in prayer and found relief. Yes, O glorious priest ! I will tell with what joy I return to enjoy the privilege of embracing thee, and that I know that I owe all this to Hippolytus, to whom Christ, our God, has granted power to obtain what any one asks of him. That little chapel (*adricula*) which contains the cast-off garments of his soul [his relics] is bright with solid silver. Wealthy hands have put up tablets glistening with a smooth surface [of silver], bright as a concave mirror ; and, not content with overlaying the entrance with Parian marble, they have lavished large sums of money on the ornamentation of the work.”

He goes on to describe the pilgrimages to the shrine, and with somewhat of poetic licence continues :—

“Early in the morning they come to salute [the saint] ; all the youth of the place worship there, they come and go until the setting of the sun. Love of religion collects together into one dense crowd both Latins and foreigners ; they imprint their kisses on the shining silver ; they pour out their sweet balsams ; they bedew their faces with tears.”

His description of the scene on the *festā* of this martyr, his *dies natalis*, reminds one forcibly of the way in which the modern Romans stream out to San Lorenzo, or to San Paolo *fuori delle mura*, or to any other of the old churches, when a festival or a station is held there :—

“The imperial city vomits forth her stream of Romans, and the plebeian crowd, animated by one and the same desire, jostle on equal terms their patrician neighbours, faith hurrying them forward to the shrine. Albano's gates, too, send forth

their white-robed hosts in a long-drawn line. The noise on the various roads on all sides waxes loud; the native of the Abruzzi and the Etruscan peasant come, the fierce Samnite, the countryman of lofty Capua and of Nola is there; each with his wife and children delights to hasten on his road. The broad fields scarcely suffice to contain the joyful people, and even where the space is wide, the crowd is so great as to cause delay. No doubt, then, that that cavern, wide though its mouth be stretched, is too narrow for such crowds; but hard by is another church (*templum*), enriched with royal magnificence, which this great gathering may visit ^p."

The church of S. Lorenzo seems to be the one described. This is very near to the catacomb of S. Hippolytus, and the expression used is, "*near to* this is another church so much frequented." There are remains of another church or chapel over the entrance to S. Hippolytus, but it could not have been of the rich character of the one here described, with columns and rich ceilings, and steps up to the front. These steps are indication that the deep foss-way in front of S. Lorenzo has been filled up.

There is considerable doubt or confusion respecting the history of this saint and martyr; it appears certain that there were two or three persons of the same name, who are not well distinguished one from the other by early authors: consequently it is doubtful of what country he was a native, and of what place he was bishop. Still he is mentioned by S. Jerome, and several of his writings are extant, if this is the same S. Hippolytus. The most probable account is that he was a Greek, and was Bishop of Porto; but some say he was a native of Gaul, and Bishop of Ostia. S. Jerome says that he was a bishop, but that *he* did not know of what city. There is a very curious early Christian statue of this author, who probably was also the martyr, which is now placed in the museum of Christian Antiquities at the Lateran. The head is that of a modern ecclesiastic, but the figure is ancient. The saint is seated on a marble chair, and on the back of it are two Greek inscriptions incised, one a catalogue of his works, but incomplete, as it was made in his lifetime; the other a calendar and cycle, which shews that it was made in the time of the Emperor Alexander Severus. This statue was found in 1551, "outside of the walls of Rome, *near* the church of S. Lorenzo," therefore probably on the site of, or in his catacomb. It has given rise to much discussion, and several works or essays have been written upon it ^q. This statue is conjectured, with some probability, to have

^p The description of the crowd of people might apply almost equally well at the present day, when the catacomb of S. Calixtus is lighted up for the modern pilgrims.

^q S. Hippolyti, episcopi et martyris, Opera, &c., cur. Jo. Alb. Fabricio. Hamburgi, 1716-18, 2 vols. fol.
Kimmel de Hippolyti vita et Scriptis. 8vo. Jenæ, 1839.

been made at the expense of the wife of Alexander Severus, Mammea, who was a Christian.

The body of S. Stephen^r, the first martyr, is also *said to have been* translated from Constantinople to this catacomb, on the seventh of May, A.D. 557.

It was also called after S. Maximus; and there was a church at the entrance to it dedicated to S. Hilary. The crypts of S. Chrysanthus and S. Daria are also mentioned as in this cemetery, which was also called the cemetery of Novella; at least this was on the same road, whether the same cemetery or not is uncertain.

In the Index Oleorum, the catacomb of S. Syxtus, or Systus, is also placed on this road. In the Saltzburg Itinerary, it is Agapetus, m. and deacon of S. Syxtus, as already given from William of Malmesbury. This latter is probably correct; that of S. Systus was on the Via Appia.

Bianchini, de Calendario et Cyclo Cæsareo ac de paschale canone S. Hippolyti Martyris, etc. Folio. Romæ, 1703.

Vignolii, de Anno primo imperii Severi Alexandrini Aug. quem præferit cathedra marmorea S. Hippolyti. 4to. Romæ, 1712.

Notes historiques, biographiques, archéologiques et littéraires concernant les premiers siècles chrétiens par J. G. H. Greppo. 8vo. Lyon, 1841. (These Notes were written for the *Cœuvres choisies de S. Jérôme*. 8 vols. 8vo. Lyon, 1841. Only a few copies of the Notes were printed separately; they contain a great deal of valuable matter.)

Ch. Car. Josias Bunsen, Hippolytus and his Age; or the Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus, &c. London, 1852, 4 vols. 12mo. A second edition, enlarged, appeared in 1854, 7 vols. 12mo.; and a German translation of the first edition was printed at Leipzig in 1852-3, 2 vols. 8vo.

^r Persons not acquainted with the legends of the Roman martyrs have frequently never heard of any other S. Stephen than the Proto-martyr; but the name of Stephen was always a common one, and it is perfectly clear that the S. Stephen of the Roman Church was S. Stephen the Deacon, one of the martyrs in the Persecution under the Emperors Valerian and Gallienus, towards the end of the third

century, along with S. Sixtus, who was called Bishop of Rome at that time, and Pope. The words of the Pontifical Registers of Sixtus II., used by Anastasius, the Pontifical librarian, in the ninth century, are quite conclusive on this point:—"Eodem tempore hic [Sixtus II., A. D. 259] comprehensus a Valeriano, et ductus ut sacrificaret dæmoniis, quia contempsit præcepta Valeriani, capite truncatus est, et cum eo alii sex diaconi, Felicissimus et Agapitus, Januarius et Magnus, Vincentius et Stephanus, sub die sexto Idus Augusti." (Anast. Bibl., 25.) In the Register of Bishop Simplicius [A. D. 480] it is also stated that he dedicated a church to this S. Stephen, near that of S. Lorenzo or Laurentius, which is no doubt the one of which we have the remains, "Hic dedicavit aliam basilicam sancti Stephani juxta basilicam sancti Laurentii."

S. Stephen, Abbot of Rieti, in Italy, is also commemorated in the Roman Martyrology on Feb. 13, and he is mentioned by S. Gregory.

In the trial of S. Cyprian by the Proconsul Paternus, that magistrate referred to the above precepts in these terms:—"Præceperunt etiam (Valerianus et Gallienus) ne in aliquibus locis conciliabula fiant, nec cœmeteria ingredientur. Si quis itaque hoc tam salubre præceptum non observaverit, capite plectetur." (Acta Proconsularia, ap. Bolland. Acta Sanctorum Septembris, tom. iv. p. 332, col. 2, F.)

VIII. CATACOMBS ON THE VIA SALARIA VECCHIA ¹.

“The second is the Flaminian gate, which is now called the gate of S. Valentine, and the Flaminian way, and when it arrives at the Milvian bridge, it takes the name of the Ravennanian way, because it leads to Ravenna ; and there, at the first stone without the gate, S. Valentine rests in his church ¹.”

“The fourth is the Salarian gate and way, now called S. Silvester's. Here, near the road, lie S. Hermes and S. Vasella, and Prothus and Jacinctus, Maxilian, Herculanus, Crispus ; and in another place, hard by, rest the holy martyrs Pamphilus and Quirinus, seventy steps beneath the surface. Next is the church of S. Felicitas, where she rests, and Silanus, her son ; and not far distant, Boniface the martyr. In another church there are Crisantus and Daria, and Saturninus and Maurus, and Jason, and their mother Hilaria, and others innumerable. And in another church, S. Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis, sons of S. Felicitas ; and seven holy virgins, Saturnina, Hilarina, Duranda, Rogantina, Serotina, Paulina, Donata. Next the church of S. Silvester, where he lies under a marble tomb ; and the martyrs, Celestinus, Philippus, and Fœlix ; and there, too, the three hundred and sixty-five martyrs rest in one sepulchre ; and, near them lie Paulus and Crescentianus, Prisca and Semetrius, Praxides, Potentiana ².”

On the Via Flaminia, at a little more than a mile from the gate, are the catacombs of S. Valentine. They are on the right of the road in going from the Porta del Popolo towards the Ponte Mallo, in a vineyard belonging to the Monastery of S. Augustine.

This is mentioned in the Saltzburg Itinerary, with a notice also of a large church or chapel, repaired by Honorius ; and other martyrs were buried there ³. In the Wurtzburg Epitome it is also mentioned, and the church is said to be marvellously ornamented ⁴ ; but neither the catacomb nor the church are mentioned by Anastasius.

This road is noted as having been made illustrious by the number of glorious martyrdoms that have taken place upon it. Many of their bodies were thrown into the Tiber, and their names do not appear to be those of any very celebrated persons. Getulius, and his com-

¹ This old road turns off to the left from the Via Pinciana, which is outside of the Porta Pinciana, at the Clivus del Leoncino, and again to the left at the Tre Madonne. The Via Salaria Nova is considerably to the right of this.

² William of Malmesbury, p. 421.

³ See Will. Malmesb., quarta porta, in the Appendix to this chapter.

⁴ “Ubi S. Valentinus martyr quiescit via Flaminia in basilica quam Honorius reparavit, et alii martyres in aquilino plaga sub terra.” (Itin. Salisb., ap. De Rossi, vol. i. p. 176.)

⁵ “Juxta viam Flaminiam apparet ecclesia mirifice ornata S. Valentini m. . .” Epitome Wurtzburg. (Ibid.)

panions Cerealis, Amantius and Primitivus, are commemorated in the Roman Martyrology in the month of June. Getulius is said to have been burnt on this road, thirteen miles from the city, and his remains collected by his widow, Symphorosa, who buried them *in a sand-pit on her property**. This is related to have been under the Emperor Valerian (A.D. 253). The road is called Via Pincia in the Einsiedlen Itinerary, and the following places of pilgrimage on this road in the eighth century are recorded,—SS. Pamphilus, Basilissa, Protus, Hyacinthus, Hermes, “where the Lord gave sight to the blind.”

Both the Via Salaria Vecchia and the Via Salaria Nova, are a little to the east of the Via Flaminia, and of the Tiber, before arriving at the junction with the river Anio.

S. HERMES.

The catacomb of S. Hermes is situated at about half-a-mile from the Porta del Popolo on the Via Salaria Vecchia, high up on the hill called Monti Parioli. At the entrance to this catacomb is a large and lofty chapel, called the Chapel of Basilla, with a *luminare* at the top, in front of the apse; the nave, or body of the chapel, is of three bays, with arches rebuilt, and the apse of the fourth century. From this we descend into the catacomb, made in a very bad soil, much worse than any of the others, a soft dark-coloured tufa; it is in a very bad state of repair, and bears all the marks of having always been used by the poor chiefly. The vaults of the tufa rock are supported in many places by brick walls of very bad construction, some of the fourth century, others of the fifth. In one place is a very wide low arch of the fourth, by the side of a corridor, with a transverse wall carried across the middle of it, supporting the entrance to another corridor, and this is covered for a short distance, a few feet only, with a triangular vault formed of two tiles meeting at the angular point. On one of them is a stamp, the letters of which may be distinguished, “Offic[ium] Domus..ibus.” This work looks like the sixth century.

There are no crypts or burial chapels (*cubicula*) in this catacomb, and only a few *arco-solia*, or tombs with recessed arches over them, on which the paintings are usually found. There, are, however, a few of these, and one very remarkable one, with remains of a mosaic picture, the only one now remaining in the Catacombs. Many of the

* “Cujus corpus colligens Symphorosa, uxor ejus, honorifice sepelivit in arenario prædii sui.” (Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea*, lib. iii. c. 32.)

tombs have straight horizontal brick arches over them of the fourth and fifth centuries; but in the lowest corridor in which there are three, the rock is harder, and the brick walls and arches were not required and not used. The lowest corridor is in the best state and the most interesting; the upper one is almost dangerous, and the corridor is often not more than five feet high, in a few places even less. In the lowest corridor several of the tombs have the impression of a round seal or stamp on the plaster, and some have a different rude mark, as the mark of the *fossores*, or grave-diggers. Some have the impression of an ivory ring, one has a fragment of one of the rings left in the plaster, another a fragment of a small round ivory tetotum or counter, and another the impression of an egg, with a part of the egg-shell still attached to the plaster. In the church and in the upper corridor are several marble slabs with Pagan inscriptions, with the plaster on the edges and at the back, shewing that they have not been used a second time, but intended to be placed against the wall in this catacomb.

An *arco-solium*, or arched tomb, in the second corridor, has some small and curious paintings of very rude character, probably of the sixth or seventh century; round the edge of the arch are very small figures of Christ and the twelve Apostles, all seated in chairs, the faces without beards and without the nimbus, and some of the faces very ugly. On the soffit of the arch are trees with birds on the branches and houses under them, two red and two black, one of each on either side; those on the left continuous, those on the right dividing at a brook which proceeds from a cascade. On the wall of the tomb is the Good Shepherd, but much mutilated; the head, however, is preserved. On another *arco-solium* are three figures on the wall at the back: the central one is Christ seated on a throne, with steps to ascend to it, holding out each hand to an Apostle, who holds a scroll or book; all three are dressed in surplices with the black border, and have the nimbus over their heads. On the soffit of the arch on the right are the three Children in the furnace, on the left Daniel and the lions.

The most remarkable feature in this catacomb is the mosaic picture, or rather the fragment of one, for a portion only remains of one which has been of considerable size. The work is of very rude character in drawing, and barbarous execution, not very early, probably of the sixth century. It is on the soffit of the arch of an *arco-solium*, with the wall behind it. On the right is Daniel and the lions, in a small square panel, under one arm of a jewelled cross, with a picture in each of the panels. The outline of the cross is a broad

red line, with a gold ground, and jewels upon it. The mosaic cubes are entirely of glass enamel, not marble; the gold is laid on one side of the glass, but not glazed over; as to the ground of the picture, it is alternately blue and yellow. On the soffit of the arch are two figures, much mutilated: one, from the attitude and costume, seems to be one of the Magi; the one on the other side was probably another; the central figure is wanting, but must in this case have been the Madonna. On the wall under the arch are fragments of three figures: one of the heads is tolerably perfect, and fine of its kind, with the peculiar expression of the eyes so often observed in mosaic pictures of the seventh and eighth centuries; the upper part of the other two heads is all that remains of the other figures, but this is enough to shew that none had the nimbus.

It is difficult to distinguish between the catacombs on the Via Salaria; and as they have all been much damaged and imperfectly excavated, the opinion of Aringhi that they were originally all one is probably correct. This of S. Hermes was often called by other names, from other martyrs interred in it along with him, SS. Basilla, Protus, and Hyacinthus. S. Hermes is said to have been one of the martyrs in the third persecution under the Emperor Hadrian (?), along with Bishop Alexander and others, A.D. 119; S. Basilla in the eighth persecution, under the Emperors Valerianus and Gallienus, A.D. 259; Protus and Hyacinthus at the same period; they were eunuchs and slaves of S. Eugenia^a. The earliest dated inscription from this catacomb that is known is of A.D. 234; another tombstone is dated 298.

In the time of Constantine, Bishop Silvester is said to have spent a large sum in the ornamentation of this catacomb or cemetery, and reducing it to a better form. We are probably indebted to him for the subterranean church at the entrance. Some fragments of a marble sarcophagus^b and sculptured foliage of that period are lying about in it. The cemetery was repaired and restored by Hadrian I., A.D. 772, and again by Nicholas I., A.D. 860, along with that of Priscilla and others. The relics of Hermes, Protus, and Hyacinthus appear to have been translated into Gaul by Gregory IV., A.D. 827, in the time of Charlemagne, as related by Eginhard; but William of Malmesbury states that those of Hermes were carried to the church of

^a For further particulars respecting the paintings in the Catacomb of S. Hermes, see the Appendix, Bosio, p. 561 to 571. Hermes is not mentioned in Anastasius as one of the martyrs who suffered with S. Alex-

ander; but Eventius and Theodorus only. The restoration by Hadrian I. is mentioned (345).

^b Perhaps this was the marble tomb or sarcophagus of Bishop Silvester spoken of by William of Malmesbury.

S. Marcus, in Rome, by the same Pontiff, where they are said still to remain. Those of Protus and Hyacinthus are also said to have been translated, by Clement VIII., from the church of S. Salvator in Rome to the church of S. John Baptist *de' Fiorentini* in Rome, and those of S. Basilla to the church of S. Praxedes by Paschal I.

Notwithstanding these distinct statements that the relics of these martyrs had been translated to various churches centuries ago, in the year 1845 Father Marchi found distinct proof that at least one of them had not been moved at all. On a stone enclosing a grave, unopened, he found the inscription—D P. III. IDVS SEPTEMBR. . . . YACINTVS . MARTIR., and near it, in moving the earth then just excavated, he found the fragment of another inscription with the words SEPVLCHRVM PROTI M. . . .^c In the church of S. Salvatore there is an inscription on a stone of the pavement stating that the relics of S. Protus and S. Hyacinthus repose under that stone. They also have half of an inscription of Damasus recording the names of Protus and Hyacinthus, the other half of which is in the church of the Santi Quattro Coronati, where parts of these relics were placed by Leo IV. The relics were divided between the two churches, and the stone was broken in two, half being given to each; but it appears now evident that no reliance can be placed on the authenticity of the relics of these martyrs. Here the remains were found in their original place after, apparently, the most distinct evidence that they had been removed. De Rossi explains this away in a very clever and ingenious manner; but the facts remain, and are not very satisfactory to those who have faith in relics^d.

SS. SATURNINUS AND THRASON.

The construction of this catacomb has been already described. (Sect. IV. p. 39.) The chapels or *cubicula* are mostly small, probably on account of the hardness of the stone. The paintings are of the fourth century and later, and the subjects the usual ones:—the raising of Lazarus, Noah in the ark with two doves, Daniel and the lions, Moses striking the rock, Tobit and the angel with the fish,

^c The inscription of Damasus, preserved in the Einsiedlen Itinerary, records that SS. Protus and Hyacinthus were buried here. This catacomb was then called after S. Stephen the Protomartyr, and the road called Via Pincia. The Chronicle also records that Leopardus presbyter ornamented this cata-

comb, but does not mention the date of Leopardus; it is probable that he was of the time of the writer, and that it is to him we are indebted for some of the paintings of the eighth century.

^d See De Rossi, and Northcote, pp. 379 to 383.

the three Children in "the burning fiery furnace." On one of the tombs in the second corridor are two orantes perfect, female figures in long robes of a light red colour, with black stripes or borders resembling stoles, and crowns on their heads; one of these dresses is very richly ornamented, the other plain. These figures are at each end of the tomb,—(with Scripture subjects, Jonah under the ivy-bush, and Moses striking the rock—between them); they are supposed to be portraits of the persons interred. The drawing of the figures on this fresco painting, and the costumes of the ladies, clearly indicate the time of the restoration by Hadrian, A.D. 772. On another tomb, one of the figures of the same period holds the scroll of an inscription, also painted with the words, "Dormitio Silvestri." Some fragments of incised marble inscriptions remain, and pieces of some terra-cotta lamps, with the recess and shelf for many others and for the small phials called lachrymatories. There are also in some places concha shells, one of which has the inside gilt, probably as a reflector to a lamp.

S. Thrason is said to have been one of the martyrs in the time of Diocletian, along with two others, Pontianus and Prætextatus, all of them Christian labourers in the *thermæ* and other works, put to death by order of Maximianus, *c.* A.D. 300°. They were all interred in separate catacombs; and after "the peace of the Church," A.D. 314, chapels were erected in their honour, which were afterwards painted and decorated by pious pilgrims. Many of these paintings remain, though generally much damaged and decayed. It was considered an honour to be interred near to the remains of a martyr, as has been stated. This honour was much sought after in the fourth and fifth centuries, and the families of persons so interred were naturally willing and anxious to decorate their burial-places. Thrason is said to have been baptized by Bishop Caius, A.D. 283—296, and to have been the friend of S. Maximus[†], a senator and a man in

* "Romæ passio S. Thrasonis, qui cum Christianos laborantes in Thermis aliisque operibus haberet, jubente Maximiano tentus, cum aliis duobus, Pontiano et Prætextato, martyrio coronatus est." (Martyrol. Rom. 11 Dec., ap. Petr. de Nat., lib. x. cap. 58.)

"Eodem die dedit eis capitalem sententiam subire. Et depositi de Esquileo ducti sunt Via Nomentana, milliario secundo; et ibi capite sunt truncati. Quorum corpora collegit Thrason cum Joanne Presbytero, et sepelivit in prædio suo, Via Salaria, sub die quarto Kalendarum Decembris." (Cod.

S. Cæcil.)

† "Maximus autem omnia noctu vendebat facultatem suam per quendam amicam suam, Thrasonem, Christianissimum togatum, qui occulte adsidebat, publice habens in corde suo cum reverentia Religionem Christianam, quem ante multos annos Caius Episcopus baptizaverat, qui magis gesta Martyrum Sanctorum colligens ornat, et omnia nocturnis temporibus Christianis erogabat, circumiens per vicos et carceres et custodias." (Cod. S. Cæcil. ap. Petr. Natal., lib. vii. c. 49.)

power, and of high character. He also supported the Christians, and helped to feed with his own hands the martyrs Sisinius, Ciriacus, Smaragdus, and Largus^g; and when two other martyrs, SS. Saturninus and Sisinius, were led from the court on the Esquiline, and beheaded at the second mile on the Via Salaria, he, with John the priest, collected their remains, and buried them in his meadow in the same neighbourhood. A church was afterwards erected in honour of S. Saturninus, over the place where he was buried. This chapel was also ornamented by Damasus, and the inscription he placed there is preserved. Tombstones dated A.D. 269 and 279 have been found in this catacomb. This church of S. Saturninus was restored by Felix IV., and again by Hadrian I. and Gregory IV.

In a bull of Nicholas IV., preserved in the Vatican archives, certain indulgences are granted to it, which is then described as in the cemetery of Priscilla and Basilla: which shews that this of Thrasion was part of the same extensive Catacomb.

This building being destroyed during the calamitous period, the body of S. Saturninus was translated to the Titulus of Pammachus, now called the church of S. John and S. Paul, and his head to the Titulus of Eudoxia, now known as of S. Peter ad vincula. The bodies of S. Sisinius and S. Thrasion were translated by Sergius II. to the Titulus of Equitius, now S. Martino ai Monti^h.

S. PRISCILLA.

The construction of this catacomb has been partly described in our chapter on that subjectⁱ. One entrance to it, not now used, is through an ancient *arenarium* or sand-pit gallery^j, with the catacomb made under it in some parts, and corridors on the same level in other parts. In some places the passages or corridors are cut in the rock, leading from the sand-pit to the catacomb, but have no tombs cut in them, though evidently prepared for this purpose. Some of the tombs are unopened, and two of them have names painted in red on the tiles

^g "In ipso itaque tempore erat vir Christianissimus, nomine Thrasion, vir potens, et facultatibus locuples, et vita fidelis. Hic cum vidisset affligi Christianos in fatigatione et labore, cœpit de sua facultate sanctis Martyribus alimoniam et victum ministrare per manus virorum Christianorum Sisinii, Ciriaci, et Smaragdi, et Largi." (Cod. S. Cæcil.)

^h For further information respecting this catacomb, see the Appendix to Marangoni, *de Cœmeterio Sanctorum*

Thrasionis et Saturnini; also his *Dissertationi*, &c. Faenza, 1785, 4to. 2 vols.

ⁱ See Sect. IV.

^j The old *specus* of an aqueduct passes through the sand-pit, near the entrance, as previously mentioned; it is a tunnel cut out of the rock, of the usual dimensions, 6 ft. deep and nearly 3 ft. wide, but filled up to more than half its depth with a bed of fine clay, evidently a deposit from the muddy water passing through it.

that cover the aperture. There is nothing to indicate any very early date for the catacomb, none of the paintings appearing to be earlier than the time of the restoration by John I., A.D. 523. Most of those published by Bosio and others after him remain, but generally in a bad state, much damaged in various ways, and often very black.

According to the Roman legends, Priscilla is said to have been the mother of Pudens; and as this catacomb is named after her, and the chapel in which the paintings are found is the first after descending the steps into the catacomb, after a passage only, it would seem probable that this was the burial-place of the person after whom the catacomb is named. It is, however, stated in Anastasius^k that this cemetery was made by S. Marcellus, A.D. 307. The whole legendary history of this cemetery and chapel is of very doubtful authority; there is no evidence that it was the burying-place of the Pudens family, or that the paintings relate to them.

These are on the walls on either side and over the doorway; on the right hand, they represent a lady coming out of a wooden house or cottage, with a curtain over the door, she then appears in the centre of the picture standing as an orante, with her arms raised in the attitude of prayer. This figure is called a Madonna, without any apparent reason. She is next represented in conversation with two men, their hands extended horizontally as addressing her; on the opposite side, she is again placed in the centre of the picture as an orante; on her left hand are two figures, one of whom appears to be leading her forward. On the left, she comes again between two male figures, apparently two Apostles, leading her into heaven, a well-known subject in the catacombs both in the paintings and in the figures on the glasses. The drawing of the figures is extremely rude, not at all like the beautiful works of art in the Pagan tombs of the first or second century in Rome, such as those in the Pyramid of Cestius or in the tombs on the Via Latina. The costume is singularly plain; the male figures wear the tunic only, without any border or stole, and the tunic is so short that the bare legs are shewn. The female figures are attired in long plain robes covering the feet; all the dresses are tinged with a pale red colour^l, but there is no other colouring.

^k "Marcellus . . . fuit autem temporibus Constantii et Galerii et Maxentii, e consulatu Maxentii quarto et Maximi usque ad consulatum. Hic rogavit quamdam matronam nomine Priscillam, et fecit cœmeteria Via Salaria. . . . Cujus corpus collegit beata Lucina, et sepe-

livit in cœmeterio Priscillæ, Via Salaria," &c. (Anastas., xxxi. 31.)

^l It may be well to mention that, according to a statute of Pope Eutychianus (A.D. 275—283), no martyr should be buried without a purple dalmatic or tunic. See Anastas., xxviii. 28.

Another entrance was at some distance from the present one, by a flight of steps, which remain, though the upper part is blocked up with a wall and earth, and it can only be seen from below, near the chapel called the *Cappella Greca*, said to be that of the Pudens family. In the wall by the side of the steps is a brick arch of the third century, with later alterations; and in the catacomb itself, near the chapel, a wall of the third century can be seen behind later work attributed to Bishop Damasus. Many of the decorations of the chapels appear to be of his time, or later, probably of the time of John I., A.D. 523, who renewed it, as we have shewn in our Chronological Table.

Upon the end wall, on a low arch, are the three Children in "the burning fiery furnace." The arch is ornamented with stucco patterns of rude, shallow, clumsy work, of the third or fourth century. On the floor of this are the fragments of a small sarcophagus, also of the fourth century, with shallow carvings, among which is Jonah under the gourd, and on another the whale or dolphin, of the usual type. The lines of ornament dividing the panels on the wall are broad and flat, some hollow in the stucco, others painted red, quite different from the thin lines, or the double lines of the first century. On the floor of the chapel are many fragments of the large tiles of the Empire, some of which bear stamps upon them.

One chapel near that of the Pudens family has the remains of an altar in it, sufficient to shew the old arrangement; it is about thirteen feet square, with the altar in an apse projecting from it; a sarcophagus has been used for this purpose. There is an opening at one end of this for the priest to pass, and just room enough for him to stand in the apse behind it; he must have officiated behind the altar, as was the custom in all the early churches before the fourth century. The chapel is very plain, but has been a *platonía*, that is, had the walls covered entirely with slabs or plates of marble. Some portions of them remain, and the plaster has evidently had marble plates fixed up against it, both from the appearance of the plaster and from the nails, many of which remain projecting from it; unless in this, as in the adjoining chapel, plates of hard stucco were used instead of marble. The fact of their having been all carried away to be used elsewhere, indicates however that in this chapel rich marble was used; in the other, where the imitation was used, it was suffered to remain. It may probably be of the end of the third century or the beginning of the fourth. It is full of graves in all parts, even behind the altar, which was itself probably the tomb of a martyr; and as the chapel of the Pudens family opens

out of this, S. Priscilla may very probably have been interred here, if the legendary history can be relied on.

This chapel is oblong, and forms a passage between the one where the altar remains, and another larger one, called a basilica, with three apses, one at the end, and one on each side, forming the head and arms of a cross; these may have been merely arched tombs, or may have had altars in them (of which, however, there are no traces). On the vault of one of these are two inscriptions, painted in Greek characters. The left hand transept is square, and not rounded at the end, as the other two are.

The paintings on the vault are the Good Shepherd; on the walls or sides of the vault are four orantes, and the same number of birds, perhaps doves. The lines dividing the panels are here thinner, and some of them in dots; this is of earlier character than the others.

In another chapel is a painting representing three barrels of wine, two on the ground, the third being carried by seven men to shew its large size; this painting is probably of the sixth century^m. In another chapel, with the Good Shepherd in the centre of the vault, as usual, is a Madonna seated with the Child in her arms, and one of the Magi; the rest of the painting is mutilated. This painting appears to be of the same period.

Part of this catacomb seems to have been used as a sand-pit gallery again, after it had been deserted as a catacomb, and the graves have been cut away to widen the passage to admit carts. Although this catacomb is very extensive, it is all nearly on a level; but in one part, near the chapel of the Pudens family, there is a lower gallery of earlier character, in a very bad state, not altered or restored as the upper part is. There is, indeed, a fine staircase made to it, with a balustrade of pierced marble, *in imitation*ⁿ of the work of the early Emperors; but this grand approach is only for theatrical effect in a picture of it, and leads to nothing but the ruined old catacomb.

An inscription of the year 204, from the gravestone of a *loculus* in this catacomb, was published by Signor de Rossi. In the excavations made by him in 1870 in the catacomb of Priscilla, many other inscriptions were found, some of them in Greek, others in Latin, sometimes painted with vermilion on the tiles with which the graves

^m Allegorical meanings are attached to this subject by one party, while another considers it only as the burial-place of a wine-merchant. For more full particulars of the paintings in the catacomb of S. Priscilla, see the Ap-

pendix, Bosio, *Roma Sotterranea*, p. 489 to 557, and Perret, *les Catacombes de Rome*, vol. iii. p. 1 to 13.

ⁿ An engraving of this *imitation* is given by Signor de Rossi in his *Roma Sotterranea*.

or *loculi* are closed. A mixture of Greek and Latin inscriptions has often been seen before^o, and such remain in the Jews' catacomb. They indicate a late date rather than an early one, probably the fourth century.

Panvinius calls the catacomb "*S^a Priscilla alias S. Marcelli papæ, Via Salaria veteri;*" also "*Novella,*" at the third mile on the Via Salaria. These two ancient roads—the Via Salaria Vetus and Nova—are in parts near together and the catacombs between them, so that it is impossible to say to which road each belongs.

S. FELICITAS.

The catacomb of S. Felicitas is about half-a-mile outside of the Porta Salaria on the Via Salaria Nova, to the right hand in going from Rome. It was *restored* in 419 by S. Boniface, in 523 by John I., and in 772 by Hadrian I.

The Via Salaria Vetus appears to be the road called by William of Malmesbury *Porciniana*, (evidently an error for Pinciana,) of which he gives the following account :—

"The third is called the Porcinian gate, and the way the same; but where it joins to the Salarian, it loses its name, and there, nearly in the spot which is called Cucumeris, lie the martyrs Festus, Johannes, Liberalis, Diogenes, Blastus, Lucina, and in one sepulchre, the two hundred and sixty^p, in another, the thirty^q."

^o The number of Greek inhabitants and Greek soldiers in Rome in the third century, just before the transfer of the seat of Empire to Byzantium, is indicated in many ways, such as the graffiti or names scratched in the plaster of the walls of the barracks of the guards. Of course many of these must have died in Rome, and the Catacombs were then the usual place of burial. It does not follow that they were Christians; they may or may not have been

so; there is abundant evidence that many Christian martyrs and other Christians were interred there, without any necessity for proving that *all* who were buried there were martyrs, or even Christians.

^p The two hundred and sixty are said to have been shot with arrows in the amphitheatre, by order of Claudius. See our Chronological Table, A.D. 290.

^q The thirty suffered under Diocletian. (William of Malmesbury, p. 421.)

IX. CATACOMBS OF THE JEWS.

JEWS' CATACOMB, VIA APPIA.

ON the opposite side of the road to the catacomb of S. Sebastian, and a little nearer to Rome, is the catacomb of the Jews, discovered or re-opened only in 1860^r. It is more perfect than most of the others, more things being left in their original places; and it contains two painted chapels of early character, as good as any that have been found in the other catacombs. Nearly all the inscriptions have the seven-branched candlestick, the distinctive mark of the Jew^s, and many more of these tombstones also are left in their places than in any of the others. There are several sarcophagi, one of which appears to be distinctly Pagan, having among the sculptures a figure holding the inverted torch; another appears to be Christian, with a figure of Christ in the act of benediction. The paintings in one of the painted chapels are of the second century; there is nothing in them that is distinctly Jewish, and some of the emblems are those usually considered as Christian, such as the peacock, two birds with a vase between them, and others. Several of the inscriptions have the palm-branch, usually said to be the mark of a martyr, but also one of the characteristics of a Jew^t. One of the family chapels (*cubicula*) in this catacomb has a palm-tree painted on each of the four corners, and many of the slabs have the palm-branch incised upon them, sometimes on the same slab as the seven-branched candlestick, or candelabrum. Most of the inscriptions are rudely cut in Greek letters; but the words of some are Latin, of others Hebrew, and some are Hebrew in the Latin characters.

^r The Jews' catacomb described by Bosio and Aringhi (cap. 18), is the one on the Via Portuensis, on the other side of the Tiber; and they do not mention another on this road, where two have since been found.

^t This well-known emblem of a Jew, which is seen in sculpture on the Arch of Titus as a characteristic of the nation, has its origin in Scripture, according to the description in the Book of Exodus, xxv. 31, 32, and in Zechariah, chap. iv. ver. 2, 3. The two olive-trees mentioned in that chapter as on each side of the candlestick, are also sometimes represented both on the incised

tombstones and on the gilt patterns on glass vases found in the Jews' catacomb. There is an engraving of one in the pamphlet of Padre Garrucci, published at Rome soon after the discovery. The inscriptions on the tombstones, and other emblems incised upon them, are given in the same work, entitled "Cimitero degli antichi Ebrei scoperto recentemente in Vigna Randanini, illustrato per Raffaele Garrucci, D. C. D. G." Roma, 8vo., 1862.

¹ On a coin of Vespasian is a figure of Judea weeping under a palm-tree. See Fr. W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage*, &c., pp. 183—196.

At the principal entrance^a is a chamber, now uncovered, but originally vaulted, with a good mosaic pavement, in which are drains for letting water run off. This appears to have been the place for washing the bodies, and in the adjoining chamber was a lavatory for ablution, now destroyed. The greater part of the catacomb is, as usual, merely dug out of the soft rock, and of course has nothing to indicate a date, nor are there any dates to the inscriptions; but what architectural character there is in the upper part belongs to the first century, as well as the brickwork of the recesses round the washing-chamber, with a wall of reticulated masonry, and several doorways of ashlar. Here also each successive corridor one under the other is of a later date, and considerably later. In this catacomb the same system of family burying-places is employed as in the others; and it appears that in cases of intermarriages it was considered that the right of sepulture in the family burying-place was not forfeited. Respecting the Pagan sarcophagi in some of the chapels, it has been suggested that these may have been used again, as the remains of many Christian bishops of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are found in rich Pagan sarcophagi, for instance at Salerno; but this implies that the catacomb was used at a much later period than is probable. Another suggestion is that the sarcophagi were an article of manufacture kept ready made, and that one may have been bought in a hurry without considering the Pagan emblems upon it; but it does not seem likely that any Jew would be so careless in such a matter. At another entrance, now used as the exit, is a wall of the fourth century, so that it appears to have continued in use for the first four centuries, and not to have been exclusively, though chiefly, confined to the Jews.

In some parts of the catacomb, the *loculi* or holes for bodies are arranged in such a manner that one end is towards the passage, as in the catacomb of the Scipios, instead of the side, as usual in the Christian catacombs; sometimes both plans are adopted within a few yards of each other. Ledges are cut or built for placing three or four coffins, one over the other, in the same vault; and in some places bodies are buried in the floor of the passages. In most parts there are indications of great poverty, and a crowding of the bodies to save expense. The same may be observed in most of the Christian catacombs also.

^a Near the entrance to this catacomb, and in the same vineyard, is a square tomb of the first century of the Christian era, of excellent brickwork, with

scarcely any mortar between the joints. Within are niches for figures, some round-headed, others square.

THE JEWS' CATACOMB ON THE VIA PORTUENSIS.

The hill in which this catacomb is situated is part of the Monte Verde, or Janiculum, outside of the Porta Portuensis, or Portese, in the Trastevere, near the quarter formerly occupied by the Jews, where the hired house of S. Paul is said by some authorities to have been situated. This catacomb is described by Bosio (lib. i. c. 18), but is now covered up again.

During his researches he found, in 1602, another catacomb on this road, in a hill on the bank of the Tiber, called Rosato, with several inscriptions or tombstones of the Jews, and the seven-branched candlestick both on the tombstones and on lamps. It was of very rude and early construction, and the inscriptions were also rude, in Greek characters, but not always Greek words; the name of the Synagoga occurs.

Philo Judæus mentions that in his time the Jews of Rome resided in the Trastevere^v, and the situation of this catacomb was therefore convenient for them. It is mentioned in the Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela^w, who says that ten martyrs were interred in it, but does not mention their names, or whether they were Jews or Christians, and nothing more is known about them.

Holstein, a canon of the Vatican, who was one of the most learned men of his day, *c.* A.D. 1650, and who had studied the subject, considered that they were Jews put to death under Hadrian; but no persecution in his time is recorded by Eusebius, or any other Christian historian, as far as has been observed. Holstein, however, said that he found them mentioned, with their names, in a Jewish service-book or martyrology, called *Manzor*.

In 1866, another catacomb for the Jews was partially excavated in the Vigna Cimarra, on the Via Appia, just beyond S. Sebastiano. The

^v "Magnam partem urbis Romæ trans Tiberim, non ignoravit teneri et habitari à Judæis, quorum plerique erant libertini," &c. (Philonis Judæi, *de Virtutibus*, Opera ed. Mangey, vol. ii. p. 568, l. 27. Fol. Lond. 1742.)

^w "Est etiam crypta altera juxta Tiberis fluvii ripam, in qua sepulti sunt decem justii occisi regni (delendi causa)." (Benjaminus Tudelensis Itinerarium ex versione Ariæ Montani, &c. Lipsiæ, MDCLXIV., 8vo. p. 21.)

We quote this translation, although

we are aware that it is very bad. (See E. Carmoly, *Notice historique sur Benjamin de Tudèle*, &c., p. 18. Bruxelles, 1858, 8vo. The Peregrinations of Benjamin the Sonne of Jonas, a Jew, written in Hebrew, translated into English from the Latin version of Arias Montanus, had appeared in Harris's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. i. pp. 546—555 (fol., London, 1744-48); they were again translated into English and edited by A. Asher at Berlin in 1840, 2 vols. 8vo.

seven-branched candlestick and other emblems and inscriptions found there leave no room for doubt that it was for Jews, but it appears to have been of small extent and extremely poor. The soil is clay, which is not well suited for a catacomb, and it has more the appearance of having been the burial-place of a particular family than a general one.

The glass vases represented in the fifth plate of the work of Father Garrucci are evidently taken from the Jews' catacomb*, from the subjects represented on them. They all have the candlestick of seven branches, and the arch or tabernacle guarded by two lions, with wine-pots, drinking-horns, and scrolls. One of the best of these is now preserved in the Museum of Borgia, at the Propaganda; in this the lions are under curtains, in festoons. Under the upper picture are large candelabra, with lamps burning at the top of each branch; in the centre, between the two candelabra, is a palm-branch. On each of the outer sides of the stem of the candelabra is a wine-pot, and between them a drinking-horn and a cedar-tree (?). This picture is enclosed in a square border ornamented with a series of round studs, alternately large, coloured red, and small, coloured blue. These colours are repeated on the candelabra; the ground of the panel is light red. Over the picture are the words in Roman capitals, PIE . ZESSES . ELARES, that is to say, *pie zeszes hilaris*, the aspirated *h* being omitted, and the *i* being changed into *e*, according to the vulgar pronunciation in Rome.

X. CATACOMBS WITHIN THE WALLS OF ROME.

IN addition to the catacombs or subterranean cemeteries in the environs of Rome, mentioned in the Pontifical Registers, several of the crypts or vaults under the churches, within the walls of Rome, are also called Catacombs; but these were only the places to which the bones and relics of the persons interred in the Catacombs, properly so called, were brought for safety, at the time of the invasion of the Lombards in the eighth century. At that period, the Catacombs had been discontinued as places of interment; for two or three centuries, it had become customary to bury the dead in and under the churches within the walls, at least persons of importance, and the

* *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri dei Cristiani primitivi di Roma*, &c. Fol. Roma, 1858, pp. 14—19. See also Buonarrotti, *Osservazioni*

sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro, &c. Fol. min. Firenze, 1716, tav. iii., and Perret, *les Catacombes de Rome*, xxiv. 23.

monks in their own cloisters. The great burial-ground of S. Lorenzo, called the Campo Santo, is modern; the pits are of the years 1836 and 1837, but they are no longer used. At one period it was usual to consider *all* the persons buried in the Catacombs as saints or martyrs; their relics were eagerly sought for, and for that reason perhaps the Lombards rifled and destroyed the Catacombs at the time of their siege of Rome. Great efforts were made by the bishops and clergy to preserve what were left, and large numbers were brought to Rome and re-interred in vaults or crypts built for the purpose. Altars and chapels were made at the entrances of those crypts, and richly decorated. It was expected that the pilgrimages would have been transferred from the original vaults in which the saints had been interred, to these new vaults in Rome itself; but this appears to have been only partially the case. The original Catacombs were also restored and re-painted for the benefit of the pilgrims, as soon as peace was restored, and these are for the most part the paintings in the Catacombs now visible. They are larger and finer than the original frescoes of the fourth and fifth centuries, which are always small, and very poor as works of art. Those of the eighth and ninth centuries are not copies of the old ones, but are in the style of their own period, corresponding with the mosaic pictures in the churches in Rome, and executed by the same persons.

The catacombs in Rome had, however, a certain celebrity, and were objects for pilgrimages at a time when the original Catacombs had been forgotten and were no longer accessible. One of the largest of these so-called Roman catacombs is under the altar and presbytery of the church of S. Praxedes, now called S. Prassede; the long passage which formed the vestibule of this great crypt is still open, and has an altar with rich decorations renewed in the thirteenth century, as shewn by the ornamentations in Cosmati mosaic work, in bands round the altar frontal, and on the edges of the sarcophagi of the saints, placed on either side of this passage. The walls and flat roof of the passage are built of slabs of stone and marble brought from the old Catacombs, some with the inscriptions visible, others with the inscriptions turned inwards, and therefore hidden. These slabs have been used merely as old building materials, and were covered over with stucco ornament, some of which remains.

The monastery and church of S. Prassede were entirely built or rebuilt in the time of Paschal I., probably, among other objects, in order to receive these relics. It was an offshoot from, and closely connected with, the monastery and church of S. Pudentiana, the

sister of S. Praxedes, and in the crypt of that church also a large number of relics from the Catacombs were re-interred. It is probable that the whole of those which then remained in the catacomb of S. Priscilla, were removed for safety to these two churches. Inscriptions in one church state that 3,000 martyrs are interred under the altar, and 2,300 in the other. Bosio and Aringhi⁷ have a chapter on this subject, and give the inscriptions. The well in the church of S. Pudentiana probably *represents* the original well in the catacomb, as in other instances the Miracle Play repeated every year gradually led the representation to be mistaken for the original, without any intention to deceive in the first instance; and then, after ages of ignorance, it is difficult to make people see the real meaning.

Under the choir and presbytery of the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin, is another large crypt of this description, with a series of arched recesses or niches in each side, and shelves for the caskets which contained the relics. These were afterwards removed to some cupboards in the wall of the presbytery, behind the altar, in the upper church; but once a year, on the festival day, they are still exhibited, and the crypt is lighted up for the occasion.

It is hardly necessary to mention that by the law of the Twelve Tables any interment within the city of Rome was strictly prohibited, and this law was rigidly enforced until after the time of Constantine; but under the government of the Church this was relaxed, and some churches, especially that of Ara Cœli, became fashionable burying-places. The earliest persons permitted to be buried within the city, are said to have been the martyrs John and Paul, who were executed by order of Julian the Apostate. They had been officers of the Imperial household, and resided in a part of the Claudium. Their bodies were allowed to be buried in their own house, and a church was built on the site where the present church stands.

It appears that in the fifth and sixth centuries, when the extramural catacombs were going out of use, a large burial-ground was formed in the locality where the church of S. Bibiana was built, and this was another place to which large quantities of the bones from the Catacombs were transferred. It is mentioned by Camerarius and Manlius, and is thus described: "Cœmeterium ad Ursum Pileatum, ad Sanctam Bibianam⁸." The bones of the martyrs in the Julian persecution, Flavianus and Fabianus, are said to have been

⁷ Aringhi, Roma Subterranea, lib. iii. c. 38.

⁸ This must, however, have been a mistake, as the "Ursum Pileatum" is

known to have been on the Via Portuensis, at the entrance to the catacomb of Pontianus, as is mentioned in Anastasius, cvii. 601.

interred here; this is mentioned in the acts of the martyrdom of S. Bibiana, who was herself buried here, with her mother, Dafrosa, and her sister, Demetria, all martyrs in the same persecution. Inscriptions in the church record that their bodies were found here in the time of Simplicius, and re-interred by Honorius III. and Urban VIII. Their relics were put into a sarcophagus under the high altar in 1626, and statues made by Bernini. Another inscription states that 5,266 bodies of martyrs were interred here, exclusive of women and children. These were translated from the catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus. It is stated on another inscription that the holy martyrs, Simplicius, Faustina, and Beatrix, are also interred here, with 4,257 bodies of saints, besides women and children.

The martyrs Abdon and Sennen are said to have been buried in a leaden coffin by Quirinus, the sub-deacon, in his own house, near the amphitheatre, in the time of Claudius, and to have been removed, in that of Constantine, to the catacomb of S. Pontianus, where the paintings of them now remain; but these are of the eighth century. Other instances of second interments of martyrs within the city are mentioned*, but all on very doubtful authority, as to the identification of these relics, or the proofs of their being those of martyrs.

XI. CATACOMBS OF NAPLES.

THE catacombs of Naples help to throw considerable light on those of Rome: we can see that they are much finer than those at Rome, although only a comparatively small portion of them is visible. They are made in a harder kind of tufa: consequently the corridors are wider and higher, the chapels larger, and they are not so dirty as most of those at Rome. There is no appearance of any concealment in the matter, each being a hall of considerable size supported on columns cut in the tufa.

The original entrance was through the church of S. Gennaro^b; but the connection has long been cut off, and at present it is through the broken cliff of the ancient stone-quarry, and has a rather rough appearance; it is seen at once that the corridors

* Aringhi, *Roma Subterranea novissima*, lib. iii. c. 37.

^b This is now called S. Gennaro de' Poveri, the monastery adjoining having long been converted into a poorhouse. The building is late medieval with a

double cloister, one over the other, and the plan is long and narrow, not square as was usual; it is a very picturesque building. These catacombs were also called *extra mania*, because they were outside the walls of the town.

are far more lofty and spacious than those of Rome, though the *arco-solia* and the paintings are of much the same character. There are remains of paintings on what is now the external wall, which has originally been covered over; the general effect of the present entrance is striking, and immediately attracts interest, and a desire to explore further^c.

The present vestibule is also of a good size, and has a vault painted in the style of Pompeii, evidently of the same period, the first half-century of the Christian era, some of the paintings being distinctly Pagan. This has been plastered over, and a second set of the eighth century painted over it; but this second coat of plaster has not adhered well, and has fallen off over nearly the whole extent, leaving the original painting fresh and nearly perfect. The corridors themselves are not painted, but a few tombs in them are so, as well as many family chapels. These also have columns at the entrance, on each side of the door, better worked and more distinct than those in Rome, arising probably from the material being better. One corridor is called the Tombs of the Nobles, and the *loculi* are finer and better worked than the rest. Amongst these is a painted tomb of the time of Constantine, with pictures of that prince and his mother, S. Helena, which appear contemporaneous, with his badge, the *labarum*, and an inscription, *ITALIA IN PACE*. In the next corridor is the chapel of S. Gennaro, or Januarius, who was martyred under Diocletian in the tenth persecution at the end of the third century, and was interred with pomp under Constantine; the paintings in the chapel of this corridor are possibly soon after his time, and this was probably his burying-place. A church was afterwards erected in his honour at the entrance of the catacomb. Other chapels in another corridor have paintings of the eighth century, among which is a Holy Family and SS. Peter and Paul; another has figures of saints, with the names of Desiderius and Agatius. There is also a good painting of a peacock, with vases and flowers, of earlier character.

In the upper chapel, near the entrance, is a seat cut out of the tufa rock, like what is called the bishops' seat in one of the catacombs at Rome; this is called the chair of S. Severus.

These catacombs at Naples^d are said by tradition to be the work

^c Signor de Gennaro Galante, of Naples, has long had a work in hand on the Christian antiquities of that city. It is expected to throw new light on the subject, which has hitherto been much neglected.

^d A description of these Catacombs, and a dissertation upon them in German, was published in 1839, by Ch. Fr. Bellermann, with this title: "Ueber die ältesten christlichen Begräbnisstätten und besonders die Katakomben zu

of Greek settlers. This kind of burial is an Oriental custom brought to Europe by the Jews and the Byzantine Greeks.

There is a series of family burying-places or *cubicula* or *cœmeteria*, down each side of the corridors, always said to be burying-places of families, and in several instances the names of the families are mentioned by the guide, on pure tradition. The paintings of these shew that they belong to several distinct periods, from the first century down to the ninth. Several are of the eighth and ninth, and original, that is, not painted over others, but on the original and only coat of plaster. One of the *arco-solia*, near the entrance, is inscribed OSSVARIO, and has the arch enriched with mosaics in patterns only, a star within a circle, just like one at Pompeii. This

Neapel," &c. Hamburg, 1839, 4to., with 12 coloured plates and two plans.

The following is a list of the plates, which are important, because the greater part of the paintings there given are no longer visible:—

1. View of the entrance hall or chapel (?), called the vestibule.

2. A partition-wall in the lower story with *loculi*, and an *arco-solium* with a painting of the peacock.

3. Vault of the vestibule of the lower story, with an early pattern upon it of circles, &c., and with birds and animals on the side walls.

4. Drawings of birds, vases, and animals (lions, stags, panthers, &c.), on a partition-wall of the upper story.

5. i. Adam and Eve. ii. An unfinished tower of medieval character, with battlements, and with three female figures in the act of building it, possibly alluding to the third vision in the Pastor of Hermas. See Galland, *Biblioth. Vet. Patr.*, t. i. p. 63, seq.

6. A cubiculum in the upper story, painted with an anchor, a dove, two dolphins, and a goat, with a shepherd's staff and a drinking-mug hanging to it.

7. Figures of S. Paul with a scroll, and S. Laurence with his crown of martyrdom in his hand. These figures have not the nimbus, and the inscriptions are of an early character. This painting is probably of the fifth century.

8. An *arco-solium*, with figures of three persons buried in it; a man, and two children, one aged fourteen, the other two.

i. ILARIVS. VIX. AN. XIV. . . .

ii. ELINVS. MARCELLINVS (?) VIX. . . .

iii. NONNOSA. VIX(it) AN(nos) II.

M(enses) X.

9. Figures in two pictures.

I. HIC REQVIESC. PROCVLVS. The head, with hands uplifted, standing between two candlesticks.

2. A group of three figures. In the centre a tall figure with the inscription,—

SANCTO MARTYRI IANVARIO.

10. A painting in the chapel of the martyrs: three figures much mutilated. In the centre a bishop with his pall; he has the nimbus, and was probably a martyr. On either side is a female figure addressing him.

11. Two figures. i. A bishop with his pall. ii. A deacon.

The costumes of these figures in 10, 11, and 12, belong rather to the Greek than the Roman Church. The paintings are probably of the eighth century.

12. A head of Christ in the attitude of benediction, and two lamps of the fourth century, such as are common in all the catacombs. Lights to be burnt before the dead, were forbidden by the Council of Illiberis in A.D. 305, but recommended by Athanasius in A.D. 373.

There is also a good description of the Catacombs of Naples in Keyssler's Travels (*Reisebeschreibungen*, th. ii. p. 796, ff.), translated from the second edition of the German, and published in London in four quarto volumes in 1756.

See also Notizie sulle cripte mortuarie dell Catacombe di S. Gennaro de' Poveri, del Can. Andrea di Jorio, in a periodical, *Progresso delle scienze, lettere ed arti*, 1833, fasc. 7, and published separately.

is in the earlier part, near the entrance, and in that part some of the family tombs are distinctly Pagan. Others are as evidently Christian, of various periods down to the ninth century.

In 1866, a *cubiculum* was found dug out of the chalk-rock in a sort of side chapel of the church of S. Severus, which is supposed to have had a communication with the great catacomb of S. Genaro. It was painted with figures of saints of the usual style of the Catacombs, with the names inscribed of SANCTVS EVTVC(hes) and SANCTVS PROTASIVS. An account of this discovery was given in the *Bullettino*^e of De Rossi for 1867. The paintings are attributed to the fourth century, but appear far more like the restoration of the time of Pope Hadrian in the eighth.

The Commendatore de Rossi, who has been well acquainted with the Catacombs of Rome from his boyhood, and has now for several years had charge of them for the Pontifical Government, also takes a natural interest in those of other countries, and his *Bullettino* is full of information on the subject. When anything fresh is observed, it is sure to be found there; but the subject is obviously too wide to be entered upon here. In the neighbourhood of Rome, he has accounts of them at Ostia and at Porto, in his fourth volume, and at Albano, Aricia, and Bovilla, in his seventh. He has also notice of others in Egypt, at Catana, Cesarea in Mauritania, Chiusi in Etruria, Cumena in Phrygia, and Milan, besides these in Naples, which are only equalled by those in the ancient *latomie* of Syracuse, hewn out in hard and compact calcareous stone, which had supplied materials for so many fine edifices.

^e *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1867, pp. 73, 74-

XII. CHURCHES OUTSIDE THE WALLS CONNECTED WITH THE CATACOMBS.

VIA OSTIENSIS. CHURCH OF S. PAUL OUTSIDE THE WALLS.

THIS celebrated church is one of the great Patriarchal Basilicas of Rome, or what we should call Metropolitan Cathedrals, which were so largely endowed by Constantine out of the imperial estates in the Campagna and elsewhere. It is also a parochial church, and has a monastery of Benedictines attached to it, governed by an abbot, and therefore called an abbey. The church is said in the Martyrologies to have been originally founded in A.D. 254, under Pope Cornelius, on the occasion of the finding of the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul by the Roman lady, Lucina, on her farm, or in her family catacomb near this spot. Independent writers consider all this story as a fable, a pious fraud invented by the priests, asserting that this and some other passages were inserted in the Pontifical Records by Anastasius, who was the most skilful forger of manuscripts of his day. Another of these passages of apocryphal character is that relating to Pope Silvester and the Emperor Constantine, A.D. 314. In this it is stated that S. Paul's was one of the eight churches which Constantine made in Rome^f.

At the same time he is said to have *made* churches at Ostia, Albano, Capua, and Naples. It has been usually supposed that this expression, *fecit basilicas istas*, means that he *built* churches at all those places; but as no work of his time has been observed in any of them (excepting at S. Croce in the Sessorium, where his mother resided), it seems more probable that he only endowed them by attaching a grand cathedral establishment to each, leaving the canons to build the churches and houses for themselves out of the handsome income with which he had endowed them. As he gave to each some square miles of the then rich and fertile land of the Campagna, they had ample funds to build all that they required for many years after his death. He could not anticipate that in time all those fertile lands would be

^f Constantine is also said to have enclosed the relics of the Apostle in a bronze sarcophagus, three hundred years after his martyrdom: "Eodem tempore fecit Augustus Constantinus

basilicam beato Paulo apostolo ex suggestione Silvestri episcopi. Cujus corpus sanctum ita recondidit in ære et conclusit, sicut et B. Petri," &c. (Anastasius, xxxiv. 40.)

converted into a desert, or at best pasture-land for sheep and cattle during part of the year only. By neglecting to repair the aqueducts and the drains, the whole of the admirable system of irrigation and drainage established under the Empire has been destroyed, and by the *malaria*, or poisonous smells of decaying vegetable and putrifying matter, this splendid establishment has been rendered uninhabitable during the greater part of the year^s. The great cathedral is only used publicly three times in each winter season; the Benedictine monks use one of the small chapels for their daily services.

The *bodies* of S. Peter and S. Paul are said to have been interred under the high altar of this church; and their *heads* were translated, the one to S. Peter's Church, and the other to the Lateran. An inscription records that the bodies were re-interred there by Silvester when the church was built or rebuilt, that is, made into a church from a mere burial chapel.

The bones of several martyrs are also said to lie in this church, and their memory is recorded on inscriptions:—SS. Bridgetta, Timotheus, Julianus, Basilissa, Celsus, and Martianilla, under one altar; the date of their martyrdom does not appear. Others have the names of the consuls, which thus are dated, Mandrosa, Anicius Faustus, cons. A.D. 298. There are several inscriptions on tombs, with the names of consuls of the fifth century; but these are after the time of the persecutions. Two fine sarcophagi of the fourth century found here, were engraved by Bosio and Aringhi. One, with the sculptured heads of S. Peter and S. Paul, was formerly under the high altar here, but was translated by Sixtus V., in 1586, to the church of S. Maria Maggiore; the other, with rich sculptures of Christ and some of His principal miracles, was carried to the church of S. Mary on the Aventine.

Among the celebrated persons interred in this church is Paul I., who retired from his bishopric to this monastery, and was buried here A.D. 767; but his remains were translated to S. Peter's.

John XIII. was buried by his own directions in the middle of the nave of this church, A.D. 972, and Petrus Leo, better known by his

^s The blocking-up of the port of Ostia, by order of the Pontifical governors of the period, in order to keep out the Saracens and the Normans, has caused a large district to become only an unhealthy swamp. The cutting down of the forests, also by order of the Pontifical Government, for the benefit of the pockets of the priests for the time, has greatly increased the *malaria* which is now the curse of Rome. It is well

known that the leaves of trees and of other plants help very much to purify the air, as all plants live on nitrogen, which they absorb largely, and give out oxygen in exchange; and as oxygen is essential to human life, and nitrogen fatal to it, cutting down miles of forest in a hot climate, previously to some extent affected with *malaria*, was a great mistake.

Italian name Pier Leone, Count of the Aventine, a celebrated Roman noble and warrior, A.D. 1144. The splendid sarcophagus made use of for the burial of his remains in the twelfth century^h is still to be seen under the portico of the church, and represents the fable of Marsyas. There is a long inscription to his honour, recording, among other things, the building of his castle in the Trastevere.

Such is the account given by Bosio and Aringhi; others of doubtful authority, say that the catacomb of S. Paul was made about A.D. 70, in her meadow, by the lady Ciriaca, or Domnica, niece of the Emperor Vitellius, who also allowed the Christians to assemble in her house on the Cœlian for worship, and thus originated the church of S. Maria in Domnica, which was the basilica or hall of her house.

There is no building of the time of Constantine remaining at S. Paul's. The only vestige of that period which has been observed is an inscription in the *confessio*, PAVLO APOSTOLO MA[rtyri], which seems to shew that the relics were deposited there at that period. On the arch across the transept is the inscription:—

THEODOSIVS CÆPIT, PERFECIT HONORIVS AVLAM DOCTORIS MVNDI
SACRATAM CORPORE PAVLI¹,

thus recording that it was built in the last twenty years of the fourth century, between 380 and 400.

The next notice of this church is that it was repaired or restored by Pope Leo, A.D. 440¹, under Galla Placidia, according to the inscription on the arch of the transept:—

PLACIDIA PIA MEMO OPERIS DECVS OMNE PATERNI
GAVDET PONTIFICIS STVDIO SPLENDERE LEONIS.

The mosaic picture on this arch with the fine head of Christ was probably of the same period.

In the time of King Theodoric and Pope Symmachus, A.D. 498—514^h, a considerable amount of building was done here: the apse was rebuilt, the *confessio* adorned with pictures, a chamber appropriated for the canons, and another for the matrons (*matronium*), and steps were made before the doors of the church in the court, or *quadri-porticus*. A sacristy was also erected behind the apse, and

^h It was engraved in the work entitled *Della Basilica di S. Paolo*, opera di Nicola Maria Nicolai, &c., con (18) piante, e disegni incisi. Folio maj. Roma, 1815, tav. x., and described

pp. 273—286.

¹ This was restored by Hadrian I., A.D. 772.

^j Anastasius, xlvii. 67.

^k *Ibid.*, liii. 79.

water brought in by an aqueduct. In 701, there were repairs under Sergius I.; in 714, the roof was restored under Gregory II.¹, and a new altar made, with a silver *ciborium* or canopy over it. The church was damaged by the Lombards, under Liutprand, in 730, and repaired by Gregory III. in 732; it was again damaged forty years afterwards under Desiderius. Hadrian I. gave handsome donations, and Charles the Great, about A.D. 800, presented a silver altar and vases to it. The same Pope inclosed the body of S. Paul in plates of the same metal; and one of his successors, Leo III., gave to this basilica a gold figure of Christ and the twelve Apostles, weighing seventy-five pounds, probably the frontal of an altar. All these treasures were carried off by the Saracens in 846. In 946, Leo IV. restored the church after it had been damaged by them. Benedict IV. gave a gold corona of two pounds weight, and seven silver crosses of fifty pounds.

The fine mosaic picture on the apse or tribune, as it is called, was erected under Innocent IV. (A.D. 1243—1250), when Gaetano Orsini was abbot, the same who became pope by the name of Nicholas III., in 1277. This picture was damaged by the great fire, but has been restored.

In 1285, the handsome *ciborium*, or canopy, was made under Abbot Bartolomeo. In 1338, the church was much damaged by a violent storm and an earthquake; it was restored in 1350, and a gothic campanile was added. This is shewn in Nicolai's view, and was only replaced by the hideous modern structure after the fire in 1823.

Sixtus V. made various repairs and changes in the church, according to the ideas of his time, of which an exact account is given by Ugonius.

The ancient *quadri-porticus* was destroyed in 1725 by Benedict XIV., to make way for a new portico. The mosaic pictures of Honorius III. were *restored* at the same time. The three bronze doors were made in Constantinople in the eleventh century, at the expense of Pantaleon the Consul, and presented to the church in 1070, under Alexander II. The subjects engraved on the brass or bronze plates were a series of prophets and apostles ascribed to Pantaleon himself, and drawn according to the fashion of his day, in very rude outlines. They were enamelled, and the enamel varnish was melted in the great fire in 1823, in which the wood-work also was destroyed; but the bronze plates are preserved^m.

¹ Anastasius, xci. 178.

^m They were engraved in *Della Basilica di S. Paolo*, &c., tav. xi.—xvi.

The plan of the church is a Latin cross, 354 ft. long by 202 wide, with double aisles. There are forty columns in the nave, and forty more in the aisles. The whole style and character of the work as rebuilt is that of a grand Pagan temple, very handsome, but very cold looking, and not conveying to the mind the idea of a Christian church. Signor Poletti, the architect of this new building, prided himself on having strictly followed the rules of Vitruvius in everything, and on the consequently substantial character of the fabric. The old church was almost entirely destroyed in the great conflagration in 1823, the apse excepted. The mosaic picture in the vault was much damaged, although not destroyed, and it has since been restored; but a large series of tombs and figures in marble and bronze were entirely lost. This fire made a great sensation all over Europe, and a large fund was raised by public subscription to rebuild the church; all the Catholic bishops were called upon to appeal to their flocks, and did so with great success, many contributions in kind being sent as well as money. The Emperor of Russia gave malachite and even the Pasha of Egypt granite columns, which are used in the church with Corinthian capitals of Carrara marble.

The old altar was preserved with its very beautiful canopy or *ciborium* of the fourteenth century, a remarkably elegant piece of work, with trefoil arches and most elaborate details, of which an excellent series of engravings have been published^a; but this elegant Gothic structure did not harmonize with the Grecian temple in which it now stands: it is therefore covered over by a small circular Grecian temple to hide it. The monastery, although damaged by the fire, was not destroyed; a great part of the walls of the thirteenth century remain, and the very beautiful cloisters are of that period. These are almost identical with those of S. John Lateran, and both are richly ornamented; being one of the best examples of the beautiful ribbon mosaic, the work of the celebrated family of the Cosmati.

This Benedictine monastery was connected with that on Monte Casino in 1421, and the connection is still continued.

^a See *Della Basilica di S. Paolo*, &c., tav. iii.—ix.

TRE FONTANE.

SS. VINCENTIUS AND ANASTASIUS.

This establishment is situated about three miles from Rome, on the road to Ostia, and beyond the church of S. Paul fuori delle Mura.

The church and monastery are said to have been built by Honorius I. in 626, enlarged and repaired by Leo III. in 796, with the help of Charlemagne, who endowed it with lands at Siena; but it was almost entirely rebuilt, as we now see it, in the twelfth century. The rebuilding was begun by Innocent II. in 1128, and given to S. Bernard and his Cistercian monks of Clervaux; the Pontiff sent for the first abbot Pietro Bernardo of Pisa, who became Pope under the name of Eugenius III. in 1145, and completed this, the first Cistercian monastery in Italy°. The church is distinguished by its remarkable simplicity and plain massive character, the arches being carried on solid brick piers, over which is the clerestory, with the original windows of thin slabs of marble, pierced with small round holes for the glass, the original plate-tracery of which remains unaltered. The church must have been built expressly for S. Bernard after his own heart, as bare and as plain as it was possible to make it, without the slightest attempt at ornament of any kind, and with the plain open timber roof. He had preached vehemently against the rich ornamentation of churches, and this church should be compared with that of S. Maria in Cosmedin, which had been built about twenty years before; it was named from its extreme richness, and therefore was probably one of those which excited the especial ire of S. Bernard. One was as rich as possible, the other as plain as could be.

The outer walls of the aisles, and part of those of the transepts, belong to the earlier church of the eighth century, as do part of the walls of the monastery on the north side of it, which has a cloister of the twelfth century inserted in the earlier walls. The gatehouse is chiefly of the twelfth century, and the vault entirely so; but part of the side walls are of the older work.

The church has a square east end. In the sixteenth century, figures of the Apostles were painted on the square piers by the pupils of Raphael, and from his designs; these have been re-painted under

° The donation is recorded on this inscription over the porch:—

INNOCENTIUS II. PONT. MAX. EX
FAMILIA ANICIA, PAPIA ET PAPARESCA,
NVNC MATHAËIA.

S. BERNARDI OPERA SVBLATO ANA-
CLETI SCHISMATE, EIDEM AC SVIS CIS-
TERCIENSIBVS
HOC A SE RESTAVRATVM MONASTE-
RIVM DONO DEDIT ANNO DOM. M.C.XL.

Pio IX., at the expense of the Pontifical government, by one of the worst painters of modern Rome. The exterior has the usual cornice of the twelfth century, flat buttresses, and marble gurgoyles. The chapter-house, of the time of S. Bernard, remains among the buildings of the monastery on the north side.

The church was dedicated to SS. Vincentius and Anastasius by Pope Clement III., 1187—1191, when the works were completed. It was called in 1145, "S. Anastasius ad Aquas Salvias." An altar was dedicated in 1221, but that can have nothing to do with the date of the building.

The vault of the gatehouse has paintings of the twelfth or thirteenth century; in the centre, the figure of Christ surrounded by the four emblems of the Evangelists, and angels, on a white ground, ornamented with griffins, parrots, dragons, lions, &c. On the walls are paintings representing the donations made to the monks, with perspective views of the farms given to them at the close of the twelfth century, and amongst them is the figure of Honorius III., A.D. 1216—1227.

S. PAOLO ALLE TRE FONTANE.

Within the walls of the monastery of S. Vincentius and Anastasius, two other small churches have also been built. One is called "S. Paolo alle Tre Fontane," supposed to be on the site of a very early chapel, built over the spot on which S. Paul was beheaded, where after his head was cut off it rebounded three times, and at each place as it touched the ground a fountain sprang up. The whole history of the martyrdom of S. Paul is, however, an apocryphal legend; and all that we really know about this church is that the present building was erected from the ground by Cardinal Aldobrandini, A.D. 1599, in the usual bad taste of that age, by Giacomo della Porta^p.

The altars are ornamented with columns of green porphyry and paintings of the crucifixions of S. Peter and S. Paul; that of S. Peter being a copy from Guido, that of S. Paul an original by Bernardino Passerolo, a Bolognese artist. This church contains also three statues by Niccolò Cordieri, and, enclosed in an iron grating, the short marble pillar on which the Apostle is said to have been beheaded, a singularly ill-suited block for the purpose.

^p The following inscription records the history of the church:—

PETRVS, DIACONVS CARD. ALDOBRANDINVS, S. R. E. CAMERARIVS, LOCVM S. PAVLI APOSTOLI MARTYRIO, ET TRIVM FONTIVM, QVI EX TVNC RECISI CAPITIS

SALTU EMANARANT, MIRACVLO INSIGNEM, VETVSTATE DEFORMATVM, AEDE EXSTRVCTA MAGNIFICENTIVS RESTITVIT ET ORNAVIT, AN. MDIC. CLEMENTIS PAPAE VIII., PATRVI SVI, AN. VIII.

S. MARIA SCALA CÆLI.

The other church is called "S. Maria Scala Cœli," and is built over the cemetery or catacomb of S. Zeno, in which, according to the legend, the 12,000 Christians who had been employed in building the baths of Diocletian were buried. The church derives its name from a vision of S. Bernard, in which, while celebrating mass for certain souls, they appeared to him ascending by a ladder to heaven. The church was rebuilt by Cardinal Farnese from the designs of Vignola, and completed by Giacomo della Porta; it is an octagonal building, with a central cupola, on which are the arms and name of the Cardinal, and the date 1584. It has a mosaic pavement of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the altar in the crypt is enriched with mosaics. It has also one of the ancient stone weights called martyrs' weights, from their having been commonly used for drowning the martyrs.

On the vault of the apse is a fine mosaic picture by Francesco Zucca, from the cartoons of Giovanni de' Vecchi. It represents the legend or vision above stated, with the figure of Clement VIII. and Cardinal Farnese. The mosaics are so finely executed as to have quite the effect of an oil-painting, and it is necessary to look at them with some care to be satisfied that it is not a painting. This is considered the perfection of modern mosaics; the old ones were far more coarsely executed, for effect at a distance, and it may be added that there is the same difference between an old mosaic and a modern one, as between an old painted glass window and a window of the Munich school of the present day. In the confessional under the apse is the altar at which S. Bernard is said to have had the vision; and partly behind it is a small cell, in which S. Paul is supposed to have been confined previous to his execution.

On the road to the Tre Fontane is a small modern chapel, erected in 1558, on the spot where S. Peter and S. Paul are said to have embraced and parted on their way to martyrdom. There is a cross of travertine on the gable, and, under a marble arch of the thirteenth century, by the side of the door, a modern bas-relief of the sixteenth, representing the two Apostles as embracing, and an inscription from the apocryphal Epistle of Dionysius to Timothy⁹.

⁹ IN QUESTO LVOCO SI SEPARARONO
S. PIETRO
E S. PAOLO, ANDANDO AL MARTIRIO;
E DISSE
PAOLO A PIETRO :
LA PACE SIA CON TECO, FVNDAMENTO

DELLA CHIESA, E PASTORE DI
TVTTI LI AGNELLI DI CHRISTO ;
E PIETRO A PAOLO :
VA IN PACE, PREDICATORE,
COLLE BVONI, E GVIDA
DE LA SALVTE DE GIVSTI.

VIA APPIA.

S. SEBASTIANUS AD CATACUMBAS.

CHURCH OF S. SEBASTIAN OUTSIDE THE WALLS.

This church has the title of a *basilica*, and it is both monastic and parochial. Its origin is involved in obscurity, and has been much disputed; it is certainly very early, probably on the site of one of the earliest of the Christian chapels erected outside the walls at the entrances to the Catacombs, of which we have so many. An inscription in the church attributes the foundation of it to Innocent I., A.D. 401—417, a probable date for the first church, built after the reign of Constantine on the site of an earlier cemetery chapel.

In the time of Bishop Cornelius, A.D. 254, the heads of S. Peter and S. Paul are said in the legends^r to have been buried in this catacomb by the matron Lucina. The body of S. Paul she deposited in her residence on the Via Ostiensis, over which the great basilica of S. Paul was afterwards built, this being near the place where he was beheaded. The body of S. Peter Cornelius she took, and put it under the spot where he was crucified, among the bodies of holy bishops, in the temple of Apollo, in the Vatican palace.

The heads of S. Peter and S. Paul are said to have remained here for several months before they were removed to their final destination, and to have been deposited in the crypt. The small classical confessio of white marble, with two small square openings to see the relics, is an imitation of the original one, when the heads were placed here. The character of the present one is of the twelfth century; it has small twisted marble shafts and ribbon mosaics.

The walls of the apse, and a considerable part of those of the nave, are of the fifth century; but those of the crypt, or chapel of the relics by the side of it, are at least as early as the third, if not earlier. This crypt is covered by a vault of the fifth, which is an evident alteration, resting on the outer edge of the ancient thick wall, in which are the recesses for the bodies. This chapel has all the appearance, from its size and form, of having been the crypt under the apse of an earlier church, which originally stood by the side of the present one, as at S. Crisogono and several other instances, where the old church has been left standing until the new one was built, and portions of it used for a sacristy or for other pur-

^r Anastasius, xxii. 22, mentions the bodies only, and says nothing about the heads separate from the bodies.

poses. The recesses or *arco-solia* in the walls of the ancient crypt are exactly the same as those in the Catacombs, to which it was the entrance; they are ranged in the wall all round the apse. This chapel was called the *Platonica*, probably from the plates of marble (*platonice*), on which inscriptions were placed, and with which the walls of this chapel were covered^a.

On the staircase leading to the crypt is a small chapel of the thirteenth century, with the original paintings on the walls, also of that period, and a tall marble altar after the Pagan fashion. The subjects of the paintings are:—Christ in an aureole, or vesica, supported by two angels; S. Peter and S. Paul to the left, the massacre of the Innocents to the right; the Madonna on a throne, with two angels and four prophets, and under them S. Sebastian, S. Fabian, two angels, and the Crucifixion. On the vault there are various patterns interspersed with birds, and other older frescoes under them are visible in places.

In the gardens of the monastery are ruins of other small early

^a Most of these inscriptions have been removed, and dispersed in museums, cloisters, porticoes, and other places, as usual with all the inscriptions from the Catacombs; but one relating to S. Bridget has been preserved, and is worth printing:—

EX. CAP. CVIII. LIB. IV. REVEL. S. BRIGITTAE.
FRATER ISTE MIRATVR QVARE APOSTOLI MEI
PETRVS ET PAVLVS IN ISTO LOCO CATHACVMBAS
TANTO TEMPORE IACVERVNT ET QVASI NEGLECTI
RESPONDEO TIBI SCRIPTVRA AVREA DICIT
QVOD ISRAEL DIV STETIT IN HEREMO QVIA
MALITIA GENTIVM
QVARVM TERRAS POSSESSVRI ERANT NONDVM COMPLETA FVIT SIC ETIAM ERAT DE
APOSTOLIS MEIS
NONDVM ERAT TEMPVS GRATIAE QVO CORPORA APOSTOLORVM MEORVM EXALTANDA ERANT
QVIA PRIVS DEBVIT ESSE TEMPVS PROBATIONIS
ET POSTEA CORONATIONIS
ET QVIA NONDVM ERANT ILLI NATI QVIBVS HONOR ILLE EXALTATIONIS DEBEBATVR
NVNC AVTEM POTES QVAERERE SI ALIQVEM

HONOREM CORPORA EORVM HABEBANT
EO TEMPORE QVO IN PVTEO IACVERVNT
RESPONDEO TIBI QVOD ANGELI MEI CVSTODIEBANT ET HONORABANT CORPORA
ILLA BEATA
QVIA SICVT LOCVS ILLE DILIGENTER EXCOLITVR
VBI ROSAE ET PLANTAE SEMINANDAE SVNT
SIC ISTE LOCVS CATHACVMBAS DIV ANTEA
PRAEPARABATVR ET HONORABATVR DE QVO HOMINES ET ANGELI LAETARENTVR
IDEO DICO TIBI QVOD IN MVNDO MVLTAE LOCA
SVNT
VBI CORPORASANCTORVMREQVIESCVNT SED NON SIMILIA HVIC LOCO
NAM SI SANCTI NVMERARENTVR QVORVM CORPORA REPOSITA HIC FVERVNT
VIX CREDERETVR IDEO SICVT HOMO INFIRMVS
EX BONO ODORE ET CIBO REFICITVR SIC HOMINES VENIENTES AD HVNC LOCVM
MENTE SINCERA RECREANTVR SPIRITUALITER
ET RECIPIVNT VERAM PECCATORVM REMISSIONEM
VNVSQVISQVE SECVNDVM VITAM SVAM ET FIDEM.

chapels, of which the walls only remain, and these in a ruinous state. One is a small round chapel of the third century, with niches, and with a square recess for the altar. This may have been built over the sand-pit of Lucina, *now* the Catacomb, as described by Anastasius. It is situated between the road and the buildings of the Monastery. A wall of the eighth^t or ninth century cuts off part of the apse of this old chapel, shewing that it was out of use at that period. This wall itself belongs to another chapel, which was oblong, with an apse at each end. Around the entrance to each of the catacombs there were usually several burial-chapels. A few of these were earlier than the time of Constantine; but the existing ruins of these chapels are generally of the fourth or fifth century. Those at the entrance to the recently discovered catacomb of S. Alexander have been better preserved than usual, with three rude mosaic pavements and altars, and are very interesting.

S. Sebastian's was in a great degree rebuilt by Cardinal Scipio Borgheseⁿ in 1612, as recorded on an inscription, and the present appearance of the church is of that period. It stands back from the road, with a square court in front, as if intended for a *quadriporticus*; but there is only a portico of three arches, with six granite columns. There are no aisles, but several side chapels; one called the chapel of S. Sebastian was built by Cardinal Barberini, and the body of the saint is said to rest under the altar. There are other chapels with modern paintings, some of which are in good estimation.

In the present church, there is a subterranean chapel or crypt of S. Sebastian under the altar, with sculpture of 1672. The relics are usually exhibited and made much of; they consist of the column to which S. Sebastian was tied, and one of the iron arrows with which he was shot. There is also a plate of marble, on which are said to be the impressions of the feet of Christ; but it can be seen to be evidently worked with the chisel.

A marble slab with one of the many inscriptions of Pope Damasus, A.D. 367, is preserved here; it is in honour of Eutychius, pope and martyr^r. Damasus also placed an inscription on a plate of marble

^t This may be part of the work recorded as erected by Nicholas I., A.D. 858—867. (Anastas. in Vita Nic. I. cvii. 601.)

ⁿ This cardinal also rebuilt the church of S. Crisogono.

^r EVTYCHIVS . MARTYR . CRVDELIA . IVSSA . TYRANNI .

CARNIFICVMQ . VIAS . PARITER . TVNC .
MILLE . NOCENDI .
VINCERE . QVOD . POTVIT . MONSTRA-
VIT . GLORIA . CHRISTI .
CARCERIS . INLVVIEM . SEQVITVR . NO-
VA . POENA . PER . ARTVS .
TESTARVM . FRAGMENTA . PARANT .
NE . SOMNVS . ADIRET .

(*platoniam*) in the catacomb where the bodies of S. Peter and S. Paul were found, and which certain Greeks had endeavoured to steal and carry off to their own country^a. There are also inscriptions relating to the history of the fabric, recording that it was built by Proclinus and Ursus, priests of the Titulus (afterwards called cardinals), in the time of Pope Innocent I., A.D. 411—417^a.

A modern inscription states that 74,000 martyrs were interred in this church and catacomb.

In the catacomb are an inscription testifying to the site of the tomb of S. Cecilia, by William archbishop of Bourges, A.D. 1409; a figure in stucco of Pope Urban; a chapel of S. Maximus, with the column on which he was beheaded; a chapel of Lucina, with a mosaic pavement of the twelfth century, and a carved image of the fifteenth.

The church of S. Sebastian is situated on the Via Appia, about two miles from Rome. This road is still in many parts between this church and the town at its original level, at the bottom of a foss; the earth on both sides is nearly as high as the top of the high walls, and these banks are occupied by a series of tombs and catacombs. Many of the tombs are now merely masses of rough brick, or tufa, entirely stripped of all their ornamental work, and some of them have been turned into houses, or have had cottages built upon them,—some at an early period, as there are the stone corbels for carrying a hoard for defence on one near the catacomb of the Jews^b.

BISSINI . TRANSIERE . DIES . ALIMEN-
TA . NEGANTVR .
MITTITVR . IN . BARATVRM . SANCTVS .
LAVAT . OMNIA . SANGVIS .
VVLNERA . QVAE . INTVLERAT . MOR-
TIS . METVENDA . POTESTAS .
NOCTE . SOPORIFERA . TVRBANT . IN-
SOMNIA . MENTEM .
OSTENDIT . LATEBRA . INSONTIS . QVAE
MEMBRA . TENERET .
QVAERITVR . INVENTVS . COLITVR .
FOVET . OMNIA . PRAESTAT .
EXPRESSIT . DAMASVS . MERITVM . VE-
NERARE . SEPVLCHRVM .

^a Anastasius, xxxix. 54.

^b The original of this inscription is not in existence; the present one is a copy of the thirteenth century, in Gothic characters:—

HIC HABITASSE PRIUS SANCTOS COG-
NOSCERE DEBES,
NOMINA QUISQUE PETRI, PARITER PAU-
LIQUE REQUIRIS.
DISCIPULOS ORIENS MISIT, QUOD SPON-
TE FATEMUR,

SANGUINIS OB MERITUM CHRISTUM
PER ASTRA SEQUTI
AETHEREOS PETIERE SINUS, REGNAQUE
PIORUM;
ROMA SUOS POTIUS MERUIT DEFEN-
DERE CIVES.
HAEC DAMASUS VESTRAS REFERAT NO-
VA SIDERA LAUDES.

^a TEMPORIBVS INNOCENTII EPISCO-
PI, PROCLINVS ET VRSVS, PRÆSBYTERI
TITVLI BYZANTIS, S. MARTYRI SEBAS-
TIANO EX VITA FECERVNT.

SANCTORVM QVICVMQVE LEGIS VE-
NERARE SEPVLCHRVM
NOMINA NEC NVMERVM POTVIT RETI-
NERE VETVSTAS,
ORNAVIT DAMASVS TVMVLVM, COG-
NOSCITE, RECTOR,
PRO REDITV CLERI CHRISTO PRAE-
STANTE TRIVMPHANS,
MARTYRIBVS SANCTIS REDDIT SVA
VOTA SACERDOS.

^b See the Section on Tombs.

CHURCH OF S. URBANO A LA CAFFARELLA °.

This temple is of the time of the Antonines, or about A.D. 150, if not earlier; it is nearly complete, though in a decayed and neglected state. It consists of a square *cella* with its vault complete, panelled in sunk caissons, and a portico of four Corinthian columns, the intervals between which have been walled up to make a habitation for the priest or hermit. It stands on the brow of a cliff in a solitary place, near the tomb of Cæcilia Metella, and what is called the Grotto of Egeria, an antique fountain in a cave in the cliff below, and is about two miles beyond the gate of S. Sebastian.

S. Urban I., who was Pope A.D. 223—230, is said to have used the crypt under it as a hermitage and place of concealment during the time of the persecution under Septimius Severus; it is far more probable that this was in the catacomb adjoining. There is also another tradition that the same Pontiff here instructed in the Christian faith Valerianus, Tiburtius and Maximus, all of whom were martyrs, whom he buried in the chapel of S. Cecilia, in the catacomb of S. Calixtus, and that he was himself buried by their side. This old temple is supposed to have been dedicated as a church in his honour by Paschal I. in the ninth century, and restored by Urban VIII. in 1694; but neither Anastasius nor any other ecclesiastical historian mentioning this dedication, there seems reason to doubt whether it was ever consecrated as a church at all before the time of Urban IV. in 1694. It had previously been considered as a hermitage, and a place of pilgrimage, like the chapels in the Catacombs, and it was decorated with paintings on the walls in frescoes, in the same manner, and at the same periods. Accordingly the walls are covered with a series of paintings of the eleventh century, in a very decayed state; they are subjects from the Evangelical history, and from the lives of S. Cecilia and S. Urban, and the work of a hermit called Bonizzo, who resided here in 1001. These frescoes are extremely curious and interesting, in spite of their bad state; as works of art, they are of very early character. There is a long series of them, in two tiers along both sides and both ends; those at the ends have been partly restored, those at the sides have not. In the crypt or confessio, which is very small and early, and unusually deep, is, over the small altar, another painting, which entirely fills up the end of it. This

° This is called by some a Temple of Bacchus, from an altar found there, and now preserved in the porch. It is called by others the Tomb of Herodes Atticus, but without any authority.

fresco represents the Madonna, with the Christ clothed as a little man, not as a child; S. Urban on her right, and S. John on her left, with their names inscribed vertically. The figures are well drawn, and correspond nearly with others of the time of Paschal I., A.D. 817—824, as in the mosaics and the paintings in the chapel of S. Agnes, in the church of S. Prassede. There was no persecution of the Christians going on at the time of the death of S. Urban, and there is no evidence that he was a martyr.

The real construction of the walls is, as usual, a mass of concrete faced on the exterior with the most admirable brickwork; the vault, the cornice, and the mouldings are of terra-cotta^d. The same brickwork and the same details of terra-cotta occur in the doorway and portico at the entrance to the catacomb, in the bank by the side of the paved *via* or cross-road between S. Urbano and S. Sebastiano, now underground in consequence of the filling up of the *via in fossa*, as in so many other places in Rome and the neighbourhood.

Since this was written, I have been favoured by Mr. J. C. Hemans with the following notice of the Church of S. Urbano, and the curious paintings on the walls.

“We must pass to the eleventh century in order to consider a more interesting series of wall-paintings—the date, 1011, being fortunately preserved, though but in a copy—in the antique edifice above the valley of the Almo, popularly called ‘Temple of Bacchus,’ and converted into a church dedicated to S. Urban I., by Pope Paschal I., about A.D. 820; modernized by Urban VIII., as we now see it, in 1634. The antique brickwork and terra-cotta mouldings are of almost the finest description. This picturesque building was not in fact a Pagan temple in any strict sense of that term, but one of that class of patrician Mausolea called *horreum*, that might be described as chapel-tombs, where the altar and occasional religious rites had their place in the home of the dead. Around its interior walls is carried a double file of frescoes, representing the evangelic history from the Annunciation to the Descent into Limbo (or Hades), the story of

^d There is some doubt whether it ever was a *temple* at all. No notice of it has been found in any ancient author, and some good antiquaries think that it was only one of the chapels built at the entrance to the Catacombs; but we have no other instance of a portico to one of them, and the second century is rather too early a date to make this probable. The construction may be rather earlier

than the time of the Antonines, mentioned in the text as the period to which it is usually assigned. The moulded brickwork is remarkably good, and the marble columns belong to the best period of art.

A good set of engravings of a restoration of this temple has been published by Canina.

Pope S. Urban (martyred A.D. 233), and that of S. Cecilia and her affianced, Valerian, with his brother Tiburtius; also, quite distinct from these, the martyrdom of S. Laurence. The introduction of this last subject may be accounted for when we refer to the inscription under the Crucifixion-scene, BONIZZO FECIT ANNO CHRISTI MXI, a person of that name, Bonizzo, having been abbot of the S. Lorenzo monastery, where his epitaph has been found, with the date of his death, 1022; and we may conclude that the church of S. Urbano had passed under his jurisdiction before these pictures were ordered by him, with especial desire to honour the saint to whom his own monastery was dedicated. Before observing the frescoes here in detail, we might examine two sets of coloured drawings from them in the Barberini library, one executed *before*, the other *after*, the originals had been repainted by order of a cardinal of the Barberini family. We cannot certainly commend for correctness or scrupulosity the artist, who did not hesitate to alter, in several instances, costumes, attitude, symbolism, and even the character of countenances. In the Crucifixion-scene, and in that opposite, of the Saviour between SS. Peter and Paul and two archangels, this alteration has been so unreservedly carried out, that we cannot regard the existing pictures as in any degree identical with the antique. To the figure of S. Peter has been given the keys, to that of S. Paul the sword, though both attributes are wanting in the original; but the other scenes from the New Testament, and from the legend of saints, are fortunately in better condition, generally free from alteration, or rather (as we may infer) exempt from the destroying touch of that ill-counselled artist. The epigraph with dates (under the Crucifixion) is also a restoration; but in the original a part of it is seen, to which we may suppose the date was added, according to a tradition as to what had once been read after the name of Bonizzo. At least it seems incredible that the learned Cardinal should have allowed the artist to follow his own fancy in a matter so important.

“Most beautiful among the external features of S. Urbano is the classic Corinthian colonnade of the peristyle, the intercolumniations of which have been built up, probably in the works ordered by Urban VIII. Below the altar is a crypt, into which we descend by steps, containing a rude altar, and some Christian paintings of the most barbaric description—a Madonna and child, with Pope S. Urban and S. John the Evangelist; the title of Mary is inscribed above her head in Greek.”

TOMB OF S. HELENA, AND CHURCH OF SS. MARCELLINUS AND
PETER THE EXORCIST.

A church was made by Constantine under this dedication, and this has been supposed to have been in the mausoleum^e where his mother, S. Helena, was buried in a sarcophagus of porphyry, at the third mile from Rome on the Via Laticana, or Labicana.

The interior of the mausoleum was used as a burial-chapel, with a series of niches or recesses formed in the thickness of the wall, both outside and inside, which remain, and one of these in the inside is fitted up with an altar. A small modern church has been made within the walls since the vault was destroyed; but it was originally a circular church, or burial-chapel, with the sarcophagus in the middle and the recesses round, and the vault above, which was built of earthenware pots or vases, like many others of the same period, portions of which may be seen at the springing of the vault.

To this church and mausoleum Constantine gave a number of gifts, altar furniture, images, &c., of gold and silver, similar to those presented to S. Peter's; they are enumerated by Anastasius^f, but it is sufficient here to refer to them.

The magnificent sarcophagus, of red Egyptian porphyry^g, was found in the mausoleum in the time of Anastasius IV., and was removed by him for his own sepulture to Saint John of Lateran, from which it

^e Eusebius mentions this royal tomb, and the honours paid by Constantine to his mother. See *De Vita Constantini*, lib. iii. cap. 47.

^f “. . . Augustus Constantinus fecit basilicam BB. MM. Marcellino presbytero, et Petro exorcistæ, inter duas Lauras, et mausoleum, ubi beatissima mater ipsius sepulta est Helena Augusta, in sarcophago porphyretico, Via Laticana, milliario ab urbe Roma tertio. . . posuit dona voti sui.” (Anastasius in Silvestro, A.D. 314, xxxiv. 44.)

There is some doubt whether the construction and dedication of a modern church to SS. Peter and Marcellinus, within the tomb of S. Helena, is not altogether a mistake. The tomb itself was originally a church or chapel dedicated to S. Helena herself, as was natural with her tomb in the middle of it. The church of S. Marcellinus and S. Peter the exorcist was *inter duas Lau-*

ras, that is, between the two great monasteries of S. Maria Maggiore and S. John of Lateran, where a small church under this vocable has existed ever since the time of Constantine, and has been rebuilt. It is not probable that Constantine built and dedicated two churches to the same saints in the same year. Vide Ducange, *Glossarium med. et inf. latin.*, sub voce *Laura*, vol. iv. p. 46, col. 2.

^g It was considered by the antiquaries of the last century that this urn of porphyry, with its sculptures in basso relievo, was a monument of antique and profane work. See Bottari, *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiterj di Roma*, &c., vol. iii. tav. clxvi. But the great resemblance between this sarcophagus and that of Constantia, the grand-daughter of S. Helena, is now considered to render it probable that both are of the time of Constantine.

was transferred to the museum of the Vatican by Pío VI. It is covered with sculpture in basso relievo, representing a battle, with portraits of Constantine and Helena, and the cross is ornamented with figures of Victory, and festoons of flowers and fruit. The sculpture is very fine; but it was unfortunately so much damaged in the removal, that it had to be very much restored, and a great deal of the actual work is consequently modern, of the old design.

This mausoleum stands over the entrance to the catacomb now called that of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, which is of considerable extent, but is in the same melancholy desecrated state as the other catacombs, the inscriptions on the slabs which closed the graves having, as usual, been removed to be put into museums or cloisters, and the bones to be sold as relics^b.

Constantine had near this spot a country palace, which has been entirely destroyed, having been used as a quarry by the neighbouring farmers; but a branch aqueduct to supply it with water still remains, sufficiently perfect to indicate the site. This palace and the large estate belonging to it formed part of the donation of Constantine to the Chapter of the Lateran, and the estate still continues to be their property. The present state of the mausoleum, the catacombs, and the palace, is lamentable; and the whole estate is almost a desert. Whether really owing to the alleged causes, the devastations of the Goths, who destroyed the aqueduct, which has not been restored, and the increase of malaria, or simply to neglect, and the want of irrigation, may be doubtful. The admirable system of irrigation and drainage which was in use under the Empire, and of which remains or traces are found every day, must have made the Campagna around Rome some of the most fertile land in the world¹.

^b See an account of that catacomb in Sect. vii.

¹ The want of vegetation in the summer months, caused by the want of water, and especially the want of trees, is believed by some well-informed persons to be the principal cause of the malaria. The disease existed from a very early period, and one of the objects in making the great aqueducts in the first century of the Christian era was to remove it, as is mentioned by Frontinus in his account of them. When Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, paid a visit to Rome, he was taken out of town, on account of the malaria, chiefly dangerous to the pil-

grims: "Verum quia calor ætatis in partibus illis cuncta urebat, et habitatio Urbis nimium insalubris, sed præcipue peregrinis hominibus erat, Johannes . . . Abbas cœnobii Sancti Salvatoris Telesim . . . eduxit (eum) in suam villam Schlaviam nomine, quæ in montis vertice sita sano jugiter aere atque tepenti, conversantibus illic habilis erat." (Eadmerus, *de Vita S. Anselmi*, ad calcem ejus Operum, ed. Bened. Lut. Paris., 1721, fol., p. 20, col. 2, A. "Hic (Johannes) . . . deprecatus est, quatenus ad se veniret . . . ad evitandas Romanæ Urbis ægritudines," &c. (Id. *Hist. Novorum*, lib. ii. *ibid.*, p. 51, col. 1, D.)

S. AGNES OUTSIDE THE WALLS.

The basilica of S. Agnes beyond the Walls is one of those founded by Constantine^j, A.D. 314; it retains nothing of his time, except the antique columns, which may be earlier.

The church was probably repaired or enlarged about fifty years after the time of Constantine, by Pope Damasus, as two of his inscriptions are placed in it, one of which has been removed; but the words are preserved by Gruter^k. The other is still in the church.

It was entirely rebuilt by Pope Honorius, A.D. 626—638; the words of Anastasius^l are quite distinct on this point:—

“At the same time he made the church of the blessed Agnes the Martyr, at the third mile from Rome, on the Numentana road, from

^j “Eodem tempore fecit basilicam sanctæ martyris Agnetis ex rogatu Constantiæ filiæ suæ, et baptisterium in eodem loco, ubi et baptizata est soror ejus Constantia cum filia Augusti a Silvestro episcopo, ubi donum constituit hoc. . . Via Salaria sub Pavetinas usque omnem agrum S. Agnes, præstantem solidos centum et quinque; agrum Muci, præstantem solidos octuaginta; possessio Vicopisonis, præstans solidos ducentos et quinquaginta; agrum Caculas, præstantem solidos centum.” (Anastasius, xxxiv. 42.)

It would be curious to see whether these lands can be identified as still belonging to this monastery.

^k CONSTANTINA . DEVM . VENERANS .
CHRISTOQVE . DICATA
OMNIBVS . IMPENSIS . DEVOTA . MENTE .
PARATIS .
NVMINE . DIVINO . MVLTVM . CHRIS-
TOQVE . IUVANTE
SACRAVIT . TEMPLVM . VICTRICIS . VIR-
GINIS . AGNES
TEMPLOAVM . QVAE . VICIT . OPVS . TER-
RENAQVE . CVNCTA
AVREA . QVAE . RVTILAT . SVMMI . FAS-
TIGIA . TECTI
NOMEN . ENIM . CHRISTI . CELEBRA-
TVR . SEDIBVS . ISTIS .
TARTAREAM . SOLVS . POTVIT . QVI .
VINCERE . MORTEM
INVECTVS . CELO . SOLVSQVE . INFERRE .
TRIVMPHVIVM
NOMEN . ADHVC . REFERENS . ET . COR-
PVS . ET . OMNIA . MEMBRA
A . MORTIS . TENEBRIS . ET . CAECA .
NOCTE . LEVATA .
DIGNVM . IGITVR . MVNVS . MARTYR .
DEVOTAQVE . CHRISTO
EX . OPIBVS . NOSTRIS . PER . SAECVLA .
LONGA . TENEBIS

O . FELIX . VIRGO . MEMORANDI . NO-
MINIS . AGNES .

(Gruter, *Inscr. Ant.*, p. MCLXI. n. 9.)

On a marble slab, in a chapel on the left-hand side of the nave, is the other inscription in verse in honour of S. Agnes, written by Pope Damasus, and engraved in the beautiful letters of his period, A.D. 365—385:—

FAMA REFERT SANCTOS DVDVM RETV-
LISSE PARENTES,
AGNEN, CVM LVGVRES CANTVS TVBA
CONCREPVISSET,
NVTRICIS GREMIVM SVBITO LIQVISSE
PVELLAM,
SPONTE TRVCIS CALCASSE MINAS RA-
BIEMQVE TYRANNI,
VRERE CVM FLAMMIS VOLVVISSET NO-
BILE CORPVS ;
VIRIBVS IMMENSVM PARVIS SVPERASSE
TIMOREM,
NVDAQVE PROFVSVIVM CRINEM PER
MEMBRA DEDISSE,
NE DOMINI TEMPLVM FACIES PERI-
TVRA VIDERET :
O VENERANDA MIHI SANCTVM DECVS
ALMA PVDORIS,
VT DAMASI PRECIBVS FAVEAS PRECOR,
INCLYTA MARTYR.

^l “(Honorius) . . . fecit ecclesiam beatæ Agnetis martyris milliaro ab urbe Roma tertio, Via Numentana, a solo, ubi requiescit, quam undique ornavit et exquisivit, ubi posuit multa dona. Ornavit autem sepulcrum ejus ex argento, quod pensan. libras 252. Posuit et desuper ciburium æreum deauratum miræ magnitudinis. Fecit et gabathos aureos quatuor, pensan. sing. libras singulas. Fecit absidam ejusdem basilicæ ex musibo, ubi etiam multa bona obtulit.” (Anastas., lxxii. 119.)

the ground (in which she is buried), which he everywhere adorned and ornamented, to which he also gave many gifts; and her tomb he ornamented with silver of the weight of 252 lbs., and over it he placed a ciborium^m of bronze gilt, of great magnificence; and then he made the apse of the church with a mosaic picture, and he added many other donations." The gold and silver vessels have disappeared, as usual; but the mosaics remain.

It is probable that among the gifts of Constantine for the endowment of this church and monastery was the imperial villa of Maxentius, in the grounds of which this and S. Constantia are built. There are evident traces of some large buildings of the period near the baptistery, and the ruins called the Hippodrome of Maxentius, in the valley adjoining, are still of considerable extent. It was here that Liberius took refuge on his return from exile before he ventured into the city, as mentioned in our account of the catacomb to which this church was the entrance. In the time of Innocent I., A.D. 402—417, it was richly ornamented by the presbyters Leopardus and Paulinus. About a century afterwards Symmachus restored the apse or tribune, then in a ruinous state.

The mosaic pictures which adorn it are of remarkable character and good of their kind, although of a bad style of art. The central figure on the vault of the apse is S. Agnes herself, richly attired in a Greek costume with jewels, tall and stately, rather stiff, but with a certain air of dignity, holding a book; and the hand of the Almightyⁿ, issuing out of a cloud, holds the jewelled crown of martyrdom over her head. To her right is Pope Honorius, with a model of the church in his hand, as the builder of the actual church; to her left, Pope Symmachus, with a book, as the original founder. Under their feet is a long inscription in gold letters, on a blue ground, formed of lapis lazuli. The heads of the two popes have been restored, but the character of the original drawing is preserved.

^m Or a cupola. On the etymology of which is uncertain, see du Cange, *Glossar. med. et infim. Latinit.* sub voce, et *Constantinopolis Christiana*, No. 57; Macri, *Hierolexicon*, sub voce; Bingham, *Origines et Antiquitates Ecclesiasticae*, t. iii. lib. viii. c. vi. § xviii. An older name for this, the true origin of which is no less uncertain, is that of *appallarea* or *appellaria*, used by Anastasius (lxxxvi. 162), and about which one may consult Pacciaudi, *de Umbell. Gestat.*, pp. 56, 57.

ⁿ This way of representing the Almighty, by an arm issuing out of a cloud,

is a symbolism which must be derived from the traditions of oriental art. At any rate, it is a curious fact to note that the Almighty never figures *in persona* in the pictures of the Catacombs; either the art of the primitive Christians being considered as thoroughly powerless to represent that great figure of the Supreme Being, or because a sacred motive forbade them to conceive so bold an idea. We are disposed to adopt the latter opinion, since we see, even in the mediæval manuscripts of the Psalter, the presence of God always represented as in the mosaic of S. Agnes.

It was again repaired by Hadrian I., A.D. 772, after it had been damaged in the siege by the Lombards. The church has been thoroughly modernized; but the old plan and arrangement have been retained, and it is one of the few churches in Rome which has a triforium gallery. The original church of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura appears to have been on the same plan, and that of the Santi Quattro Incoronati very similar. The body of the church is below the level of the ground, so that the entrance to it is down a flight of steps, while that to the triforium is on the level; this gallery is continued across the west end as well as the sides.

In 1256, three altars were dedicated in this church by Pope Alexander IV.^o, in honour of S. John Baptist, S. John Evangelist, and S. Emerantiana. The church has been re-decorated in 1856 at the expense of Pope Pio IX., and is now considered one of the handsomest in Rome. Its archæological interest, of course, could not be improved by the process; but neither was it deteriorated, the modernization having been effected at a previous period. Some considerable alterations had been made in the thirteenth century, at the time when the three new altars were consecrated.

The nave has a rich ceiling of carved wood, with the arms of Cardinal Sfrondati, 1606; the sculptures in this ceiling represent S. Agnes, S. Cecilia, and S. Constantia. The grand staircase, a flight of thirty-two marble steps, was made about that time, and the death of Paul V. was caused by the chill that he received here in performing Mass on the re-opening of the church after these alterations. The six antique columns in the nave are not all alike; four are of one kind of marble, and two of another. Those of the triforium gallery are different again, and fluted, some vertically, others spirally. In a side chapel is a marble altar with mosaic patterns of A.D. 1256. The outer walls of the church are chiefly of the twelfth century.

This church is the entrance to one of the principal catacombs. On this spot S. Agnes herself was buried; and here also was the cemetery of the family of Constantine, it being under one of the imperial farms. (See Sect. vii.)

The campanile is of the fifteenth century, badly built, and supported by ugly buttresses; but it is ornamented with pateræ of majolica, and has somewhat of the character of the older campaniles.

^o × ANNO DOMINI M.CC.LVI. INDIC. XIII. EO DIE QVO STATIO BEATI VITAL. CELEBRATVR D. ALEXANDER PP. IIII.

CVM TOTA CVRIA CONSECRAV. IN HAC ECCLESIA SANCTE AGNETIS TRIA ALTARIA, &c.

S. CONSTANTIA.

The Emperor Constantine is said by Anastasius to have built several churches in Rome, the most important of which was the one known as the *BASILICA OF CONSTANTINE*, now the Lateran, and to have also founded the basilicas of S. Peter and of S. Paul, of Holy Cross, S. Agnes, and S. Laurence, in none of which (except the Holy Cross) are there now any remains of his time, and the church of S. Marcellinus and Peter the Exorcist, in the mausoleum of his mother Helena^p. The baptistery at the Lateran is also said to have been built by him; but little, if anything, of his time is there remaining.

THE CHURCH OR BAPTISTERY OF S. CONSTANTIA is in the grounds of the monastery of S. Agnes, near the church, and may have been built by Constantine as the sepulchral chapel of his daughter and sister, both of the same name. If so, this seems to be the only perfect and unaltered building of his time now remaining in Rome; but it is the opinion of well-informed Roman archæologists that it was erected by his sons^q. It is a circular edifice with an aisle round it, separated from the central space by twenty-four coupled shafts, carrying small round arches. The vaults of the aisle are ornamented with very rich mosaics in various patterns, the most remarkable of which is the cultivation of the vine; which led Ciampini and other authors to think that it had been originally a temple of Bacchus.

The outer walls are ten feet thick, built of rubble stone or concrete, plastered on the inside for painting, and cased on the outside with brick or tiles; this casing has been a good deal repaired, but a considerable part of it seems to be original. Opposite to the entrance is the arch of a small apse or tribune for an altar, which has been destroyed; but in that part of the aisle the vault is carried considerably higher, as if for a baldaquin over the sarcophagus.

The whole of the exterior is as plain as possible, as is the case with all the ancient churches in Rome. S. Constantia was consecrated as a church by Pope Alexander IV., and an altar dedicated there in 1256. The sarcophagus of the saint was found buried in the small apse in which this altar is placed, and was removed to the Vatican Museum by Pope Pio VI. in 1791, as recorded on an inscription now placed in the apse over a picture representing it:

^p Anastasius, xxxiv. 42.

^q The Life of Constantine, as narrated by Eusebius, seems to make it

more probable that this was the case, though there is no direct testimony either way.

This sarcophagus is also ornamented with the vine and the vintage. This church was restored by Cardinal Sfrondati in 1620; some of the faded painting is probably of his time. On each side of the doorway on the exterior is an arched recess, apparently part of the ancient quadri-porticus; there are also considerable ruins of the ancient monastery.

The double columns, or twin shafts, which carry the arches are distinguished for beauty of form and of material. The shafts are of granite, the capitals of marble; they are richly carved, but quite consistent with the time of Constantine, and there is no reason to suppose that they were taken from any previous building. They are of the Composite order, usual at that period.

The mosaics on the vaults also agree perfectly with the character of that age, and the work is rather rude, merely intended as decorations to be seen from a distance; their general effect is harmonious and agreeable: they form a regular, methodical, and symmetrical whole. They are divided into twelve bays, corresponding with the lower columns, which carry on one side the vaults of the aisles on which they are painted, and on the other side the ancient cupola. The pattern is different in each bay; the scenes of the vintage, which were engraved by Ciampini, are constantly referred to as the most singular. Another is simply a meandering pattern of foliage, then the ploughing of the land by oxen, and the vintage repeated, with birds, crosses, and other Christian emblems, but not prominent. All are on a white ground, except the one which was over the altar and the sarcophagus of Constantia, or what may be called the chancel; this is richer than the rest, having a gold ground. This church had originally an apse, now destroyed, as has been said. The central part has been painted only, and the present painting is late and bad.

Over each of two doorways in the tympanum is also a mosaic picture of later character, probably of the eighth century. The subject of one is Christ giving His blessing to two of His disciples, supposed to be S. Thomas and S. Philip^r, with four lambs at His feet, and an inscription, *DOMINVS PACEM DAT*, on a scroll which He gives to one of the Apostles; two streams of water flow from the feet of Christ. On the other tympanum Christ is seated on the globe, with a book in His left hand, and giving His right hand to an Apostle under a part of His cloak.

^r S. John xiv. 27.

S. ALEXANDER.

According to the legends of the Roman Church, Pope Alexander I. was martyred A.D. 119, by being torn to pieces by horses, along with Eventius, a priest, and Theodulus, a deacon, on the Via Nomentana, seven miles from Rome. Their scattered limbs were collected and interred in a catacomb near the same spot, by Severa, a religious matron*. It has been remarked that S. Irenæus does not mention his martyrdom, but S. Alexander is reckoned among the martyrs in the Canon of the Mass, and in the Sacramentary of S. Gregory the Great, in the ancient Calendar of Fronto, and in other Martyrologies, with his two companions. Their bodies are said to have been translated to the Dominican church of S. Sabina, but according to the Roman Church the place where the body of a martyr has once lain is always considered sacred.

This site had long been forgotten, until in 1853, a learned English botanist was much surprised to see growing on the grass-land of the Campagna a plant which was considered as peculiar to old lime or ruins. He forwarded specimens to the Linnæan Society of London, who sent out a commission to investigate the facts, and these gentlemen by a little digging soon came upon the ruins. The discovery excited great attention, and Cavaliere de Rossi identified the spot. Pio IX. ordered the space to be enclosed with a substantial wall sufficient to protect these remains if they had been of gold, and began to build an enormous cathedral over them, proposing to retain the old church as a crypt to the new one. The church was never completed, and probably now never will be, as it is not wanted. The discovery of the site made a great sensation at the time, but the matter is now almost forgotten †.

These remains consist of the mosaic pavement and the lower part of the walls of the original small burial-chapel in a tolerably perfect state, with the doorway leading to the Catacombs, the whole of the second century. By the side of this, a large church, consisting of nave, aisles and chapels, was built during or soon after the time of Constantine, and this has been partially excavated. The arches are formed of the usual long thin bricks of that period. On the floor of the central part, which may be nave or chancel, is a portion of the pavement of the sacrarium, with an apsidal termination, and the marks of the place of two marble screens of enclosure of the choir

* "Qui etiam sepultus est Via Nomentana, ubi decollatus est, ab urbe Roma non longe, milliario vii.," &c. (Anastasius, vii. 7.)

† The key is kept in Rome by the

Cardinal Vicar, or his officers; the place is quite inaccessible without the key, which must be bespoken the day before it is wanted.

or sacarium behind the altar, which is valuable as shewing the arrangement of that period ; the only part perfect is the apse behind the altar. At the opposite end there appears to have been a second apse and a second altar ; but this has been so much tampered with, that it is impossible to see how much it is original. There is the marble grating of the *confessio*, but whether in its original place or not cannot be seen. The inscription upon it seems to be of the fourth century †.

This church is surrounded by a number of small burial-chapels and long narrow passages, with brick arches for tombs, like the sepulchral recesses in medieval churches, on both sides of the passages, giving at first sight the idea of their being the tops of a long row of arches of an aisle, and that the earth has only been dug out to the level of the springing. This is, however, clearly not the case ; the floor of the passages was no lower than it now is, and the vaults above, which covered them in, have been destroyed ; they must have formed the upper tier of a catacomb, almost on a level with the surface of the ground, and they appear to be, from the character of the work, of the fourth or fifth century.

Before the time of Constantine, and before the large church or these chapels and passages were built, the original small chapel had been added to, by building a porch on the side of it, of which the four brick piers of the vault remain, with the masonry on the right-hand side, consisting of large square blocks of stone, like all the early constructions in Rome ; and this stone wall continues on the right-hand side of the portico in front of the porch, of which the bases of the two columns remain *in situ*. The wall on the left-hand side has been destroyed or concealed by the modern wall of Pio IX. ; but here is placed a fine marble sarcophagus, with a good head in the centre, and two figures, with torch reversed and extinguished, at the corners, shewing that it was not Christian.

Behind this are the ruins of a small *cubiculum*, with three *arcosolia*, the door occupying the fourth side, evidently a burying-place

† The part remaining of the inscription on the front of the altar is as follows :—

. . . . ET ALEXANDRO DEDICATVS
VOTO POSVIT DEDICANTE AEPISCOPO
VRS.

This altar is considered as of importance by ecclesiologists, as an early example of the table-form supported on four legs or shafts. Two of the bases of the three remain in their ori-

ginal places, and bear these inscriptions :—

IVNIA SABINA C. F. EIVS FECERVNT.
. . . . SANCTORVM ORNAVIT.

Under the altar is a shallow grave lined with marble, in which, no doubt, the relics of S. Alexander were placed, until they were removed to S. Sabina. The front of the altar was panelled or channelled, and there was a square hole in the centre for viewing the relics, or some say, for placing a cloth over them.

for a small family; this seems to be of the third or fourth century. At the end of the large church of Constantine, to the left of the entrance, is another family burial-chapel of larger dimensions, with an apse, and with the entrance doorway at the opposite end, raised a step or two above the level of the church, but distinct from it; this appears to be of the fifth or sixth century, and is very rude work. Part of the stone steps descending into the church are ancient, but the lower part has been widened to more than double the original width. The curved line of the pavement from the foot of the original steps to the original chapel has been suffered to remain, passing round the apse of the choir of the church of Constantine, and included in the aisle. Several tombs have the names of consuls upon them, which give their dates.

The character of the pavements, and of such other decorated portions as exist, is that which marks works of the fifth century^u: it was therefore probably at that period that the originally simple excavation where the body of S. Alexander was laid in the second century, was brought into the form in which we see it. The building was evidently partly above and partly below the level of the ground, the original place of interment having been a low vault, and the same process of cutting away the superincumbent earth and erecting a church having been gone through here as at S. Agnes and S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, but on a much humbler scale.

From the time that the body of S. Alexander was removed from hence^x, the building was no doubt neglected, and at last fell into total ruin. It became filled in with earth, and lost sight of, until excavations made by Sig. Guidi, and commenced in 1854, brought these interesting remains to light.

^u A sepulchral stone found there bears the date of the consulate of Postumius (Rufus Prætextatus Postumianus, A. D. 448), and another that of Flavius Mavurtius (Mavortius, A. D. 527). These probably point to the period when this cemetery, about seven miles from Rome, was specially honoured, and interment in it desired.

^x According to some authorities, it was removed to S. Sabina by Pope Celestinus in the fifth century. Other churches at Rome have, however, claimed the honour of possessing it, while some French writers state that it was given by Leo III. to Charlemagne.

VIA TIBURTINA.

S. LORENZO FUORI LE MURA.

The basilica of S. Lorenzo beyond the Walls is said to have been originally one of the usual burial-chapels at the entrance of the catacomb of S. Cyriaca, a Roman matron, who had interred the body of S. Laurentius, or Laurence, over the family catacomb or crypt in the sandpit, in the meadow of Veranus. On this site Constantine is said to have built a church ^γ: it is more probable, from his usual practice, that he endowed a chapter with large landed estates, which enabled them afterwards to build a church themselves. It is further stated to have been enlarged in the fifth century, by the Empress Galla Placidia ^z, daughter of Theodosius, at the instigation of Pope Leo I. It is also probable that the original small church was rebuilt at this time by the chapter, assisted by the donations from the Empress and others. The only portions remaining of those early periods are the antique columns. The earliest part of the building to which we can assign any certain date is the arch of triumph, with the mosaics, which at present faces the altar instead of being behind it or over it, as usual. This is part of the church as rebuilt by Pope Pelagius II., A.D. 590.

There were originally two churches, which were made into one by Hadrian I., A.D. 780^a; the two apses are said to have been back to back ^b, both of which were removed, and the one continued as a long

^γ "Constantinus . . . fecit basilicam B. Laurentio . . . in agrum Veranum, supra arenarium cryptæ." (Anastasius, xxxiv. 43.)

^z The fact that Galla Placidia did contribute largely to the rebuilding is confirmed by the following inscription:—

GAVDET PONTIFICIS STVDIO SPLEN-
DERE LEONIS
PLACIDIAE PIA MENS OPERIS DECVS
OMNE PATER
DEMOVIT DOMINVS TENEBRAS VT LVCE
CREATA
HIS QVONDAM LATEBRIS SIC MODO
FVLGOR INEST
ANGVSTOS ADITVS VENERABILE CORPVS
HABEBAT
HVC VBI NVNC POPVLVM LARGIOR
AVRA CAPIT
ERVTA PLANICIES PATVIT SVB MONTE
RECISA
ESTQVE REMOTA GRAVI MOLE RVINA
MINAX.

(Gruter, *Inscr. Ant.*, p. MCLXXXIII., No. I.)

^a "Item hic idem almificus præsul monasterium S. Laurentii, quod in Palatinis in desertis reperit, noviter restaurans, atque in omnibus ditans, conjunxit cum alio monasterio juxta ipsum posito, scilicet S. Stephani, quod cognominatur Baganda; et ordinavit monachos, et constituit ut in titulo B. Marci pontificis atque confessoris officio fungerentur," &c. (Anastasius, xcvi. 340.)

^b This is the same plan as the building called the temple of Venus and Roma, and the idea was probably taken from it. The fact of two churches having been built in the fifth or sixth century, with their altars turned in exactly opposite directions, the same reredos wall separating the two altars, is a curious instance of the indifference to orientation at that period; but probably the altar which faced to the west was so arranged that the priest stood behind it, and looked himself to the rising sun when celebrating the sacred mysteries, although the congregation looked to the west.

nave to the arch of triumph of the other, which was thus reversed. The older church, now the choir, is built of very fine antique columns on bases of the eighth century, carved with the cross and Alpha and Omega; they carry an antique frieze, and on this a triforium gallery. The plan is nearly identical with that of S. Agnes; the lower columns have an entablature only, with the triforium gallery above, which has arches and is an important part of the structure, with windows at the back. The floor of the choir has been very much raised in the thirteenth century, and a mosaic pavement of *Opus Alexandrinum* put upon it. This floor cuts off about a third part of the original height of the columns, which are fully seen in the aisles only.

During the *restorations* of 1864 and 1865, the ancient crypt has been entirely removed, and replaced by a handsome modern crypt of white marble. At the end behind the altar is a transverse passage forming a square east end to the present church, which was the vestibule or narthex of the original church. The clerestory and roof are modern; the ambo for the Epistle, on the left hand, is formed partly of antique marble, and partly of the two ambones of the thirteenth century placed one upon the other. On the right is a fine ambo for the Gospel, ornamented with slabs of porphyry and serpentine, with borders of ribbon mosaic, and formed of antique marble with carving on it; at the foot is an eagle carrying a hare. The paschal candlestick is of marble with spiral fluting and enamelled in the ribbon mosaic, carried upon two lions couchant; it is work of the thirteenth century. The altar stands in the middle of the choir under a handsome *baldaquino* of classical type, on which is an inscription recording that it was made in 1148°, and behind the altar is the papal chair of marble encrusted with slabs of porphyry and serpentine with mosaic ribbon borders; it bears the date of 1254, and is carried on two lions couchant. A marble slab on which the body of S. Laurence is said to have been placed after his martyrdom, is protected by an iron *grille* of the thirteenth century.

THE NAVE was originally called S. Stephen's; it is on the basilican plan, and has twenty-two antique columns with Ionic capitals, but not all alike. They have evidently come from two different edifices.

° The inscription is,—

JOHS . PETRVS . ANGELO . ET JOSEF.
FILII . PAVLI . MARMOR . HVIVS . OPS.
MAGISTRI . FECERVNT.

And on the opposite side,—

✠ JOHS . PETRVS . ANGELVS . ET .
SASSO . FILII . PAVLI . MARMOR . HVI.
OPIS . MAGISTRI . FECER . ✠ ANN . D .
M.C.VIII . EGO . HVGO . HVNILIS
ABBAS . HOC . OPVS . FIERI . FECI .

In the centre of the floor of the nave is a tomb in mosaic of two warriors^d of the time of Honorius III., *c.* A.D. 1220, who must have made considerable repairs, if he did not rebuild the church. Its rebuilding is mentioned by Ciaconius among the works of Honorius III., who, he says, repaired the church and the monastery; but it is well known that *repaired* is a very vague term in medieval registers. It often means almost an entire rebuilding.

The two churches combined in one are not exactly in a line, as may be seen distinctly on the exterior of the north side. The walls of the aisles are chiefly of the thirteenth century; the construction agreeing with that of the end walls of the portico, which is evidently of that period. The walls of the clerestory on both sides are of brick, also of the thirteenth; some of the original windows remain, with the peculiar kind of tracery, which was the origin of plate-tracery, a plate of marble pierced with small round holes for the glass, or, as it is said originally to have been, the thinner layers of translucent marble, the same as at the Tre Fontane, and other original windows of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though these are now becoming rare. At S. Lorenzo, they are visible on the outside; but during the recent *restorations* in 1864, under the auspices of the munificent Pio IX., who has the misfortune to employ very ignorant architects, these valuable original windows have all been very ingeniously blocked up, or suffered to remain so. Considering that no expense is spared, it is to be regretted that the persons employed should be so much behind the rest of Europe in archæological knowledge and taste.

The Portico is of classical character, and has six columns with Ionic capitals; four of these columns have twisted fluting, of a kind very usual in Rome in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as in the porch of S. Sabina and the tomb of Pope Honorius III. The cornice has pattern mosaics of the thirteenth, and over them shallow carving in white marble, very much in the same style as that which prevailed in the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, and which was continued in the twelfth and thirteenth, as on the wells in the cloisters at the Lateran, and at S. John's, near the Porta Latina, the doorway at S. Pudentiana, and in the chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede. At S. Lorenzo, the portico, with these shallow carvings, is without doubt of the time of Honorius III., and has under it the curious paintings relating to events of that period. They represent the legends of S. Stephen and S. Laurence, and the coronation of Pierre

^d It is most probable that these two warriors buried in the nave of the church were great benefactors, or found nearly

all the necessary funds, although the Pope was given the credit of the work done in his time.

de Courtenay, Count of Auxerre, who was crowned here as Emperor of the East in 1217; but the curious and valuable original fresco paintings have unfortunately been *restored*. The original outlines are however preserved, and the paintings carefully copied. They afford curious information as to the belief at that period of the legends of the saints.

They are arranged in seven pictures:—

1. A holy Hermit sees four Demons pass with a great noise near his hermitage, and asks them where are they going.

2. The body of the wicked Saxon Count Henry, who had given a vase to the church of S. Lorenzo*. The four Demons discuss with the guardian Angel of the said Count who his soul is to belong to. The Demons carry the book in which are written all his bad actions, with this title, *OPERA MALA QVE FECIT*; and the Angel carries the book of his good actions, with the title, *OPERA BONA QVE FECIT*. The Priest or Abbot stands behind the body, with this writing, *REQVIESCAT IN PACE: AMEN*.

3. The Angel and the Demons put the books in a scale. The book of the bad actions weighs the heaviest; but, to the mortification of the Demons, S. Lorenzo runs and throws into the scale with the good actions the vase which the deceased had given him, and thus the soul of Count Henry can go to Paradise amid the rage of the Demons.

4. Presentation of the vase which the Count Henry had offered on the altar of S. Laurence.

5. The Greeks sent to Rome to receive the body of S. Laurence for that of S. Stephen, which they had brought to the basilica of the former, wishing to lay hands upon the tomb of S. Laurence, fall to the earth nearly dead†.

6. Burial of the body of S. Laurence after his martyrdom, and the priest, Justin, gives the communion to S. Cyriaca and other Christians.

7. A soul clings to the foot of S. Michael at the moment that the balance, with the book of wicked actions, flies up under the weight of a Demon.

This porch was restored by Sixtus IV. (1471—1484), whose arms were placed on the upper part, before the recent lamentable works were executed at the expense of Pio IX. Some fine sarcophagi have been placed in the porch.

Over the portico is a large painting on a gold ground, in imitation

* He died in the time of Pope Alexander II., A.D. 1065.

† According to the legend, they died within the space of ten days.

of the style of the old mosaics, with figures of Pelagius II., the Emperor Constantine, Honorius III., and Pio IX. (each of the two latter with a model of the church in his hand, one as the founder, the other as the *restorer*), Xistus III., and Hadrian I. Over these figures are heads in niches of S. Cyriaca, S. Hippolytus, S. Stephanus, S. Laurentius, S. Justinianus, S. Cyrilla.

Pope Hilary, A.D. 461—467, made a monastery here; Hadrian I., A.D. 772, added a staircase or steps from the church to the catacombs of S. Cyriaca, and did some other works here. There are portions of the outer walls of the monastery which are of great antiquity; the interior is more modern, and is surrounded by a cloister of two stories, in the style of the twelfth century, which continued in Rome during the thirteenth with little change. The lower story has coupled shafts of white marble, alternately with a single one. The upper story, now walled up, has single shafts only; there are flat pilaster buttresses and a cornice or corbel-table of brick with stone or marble corbels. The same cornice is repeated on the CAMPANILE, which is built very regularly of flat bricks, and the interior wall of the cloister exactly corresponds with it. The outer wall of the cloister has the lower part of quite a different construction; this is more visible on the east side from the cemetery. The old wall is of rough stone, and has two small ancient windows in it; the upper part is of brick, the same as the inner wall. The lower part is probably of the time of Hadrian I.; the upper part and the main construction belong to that of Honorius III.

In this cloister a number of ancient fragments of various kinds are preserved, including tombstones from the Catacombs, portions of sarcophagi mixed up with work of later periods, including several brought from the church during the recent *restorations*. Among these was (in 1865) a very beautiful cornice of a fine doorway of the thirteenth century, removed from the south side of the chancel, the space which it occupied being now walled up among the recent *improvements*; also the bases of the columns of the arcade with which the porch in front of this doorway was ornamented, bases which are enamelled with the ribbon mosaics in the style of the Cosmati. There were other portions of the same beautiful doorway and porch, irreparably destroyed in the year 1864. There is little doubt, from a comparison of dates, that this beautiful porch was the work of the celebrated Cosmati family, and it was the only porch that they built.

The doorway on the north side of the nave is also walled up, so that the only entrance is now from the west end; and the clergy living in the convent, which is at the south-east corner of the church, have to walk the whole length of the building in all weathers to go

in at the west end. In the dark ages, a covered way was always provided from the dormitory to the church; but apparently modern Roman architects do not consider midnight services or numerous services to be required in these days, and on the few occasions when S. Lorenzo is used the clergy may as well walk through the rain, or the cold wind, which is frequent enough there. In the dark ages, the advisers of the Popes were more considerate both of the clergy and of the people. Hadrian I. made what was called a *porticus*^g, from the gate of the city to the entrance of this church^h.

The present burial-ground of Rome is attached to it; the *Campo-santo* is very extensive, having been several times enlarged both in length and width. A great part of the ground is occupied by graves, with head-stones, or crosses either of wood or stone, according to the fashion now usual in other parts of Europe; but a portion near the entrance, surrounded by a modern cloister, contains 384 pits, in which the common people were buried who were too poor to have a piece of ground purchased in perpetuity for themⁱ.

^g “Imo et porticum, qui ducit ad S. Laurentium foris murum, a porta usque in eandem basilicam, a novo construxit.” (Anastasius in Hadriano I., xcviij. 342.)

The word *porticus* is one that is used in different senses in medieval Latin, and apparently in classical Latin also. Originally it signified what we still call a portico, the colonnade outside of a temple; but it also signified an arcade, as in the instance of the *porticus* to the Thermæ of Caracalla, which was finished by his successor, Heliogabalus, and the ruins of which remain. This was clearly an arcade, not a colonnade. The *porticus* built by Nero after the fire in front of the houses was also an arcade, of which there are a few remains. When in the early Christian churches the wall was put outside the

colonnade or arcade instead of inside, the name of *porticus* was still retained, and thus became applied to the aisles of the church.

^h For further information respecting this church, see a pamphlet printed at Bologna in 1861, under the title of *La Basilica di S. Lorenzo fuor delle mura illustrata per cura del M. R. P. Salvatore da Morrovalle, cappucino . . . con appendice del Sig. avv. Tito Bollici*; and F. Gori, *Della Porta e Basilica di S. Lorenzo, delle Catacombe di S. Ciriaca, della Basilica di S. Stefano Martire Romano, delle Catacombe di S. Ippolito soldato, o ad Nymphas, e del Campo-santo di Roma*, &c. 8vo., 1862.

ⁱ This practice is now discontinued, but only within a very few years, since 1860.

VIA LATINA.

CHURCH OF S. STEPHEN, THE DEACON.

S. Stephen was bishop of Rome from A.D. 253—257, according to some authorities, and from 258—260, according to others^j; if we trust to Eusebius, the latter must be correct, as the saint took occasional refuge in the Catacombs during the seventh persecution, which lasted from 256—259, where he preached, and baptized 108 persons on one day, and 60 on another. The Emperor Valerian ordered him to be taken prisoner and brought to the temple of Mars. He refused to sacrifice to the idol, and took refuge again in a catacomb; but soldiers were sent after him, and found him officiating at the altar in the crypt of Lucilla or Lucina. As he refused to discontinue the service, they beheaded him there on his own seat, which was buried with him in the same crypt.

The church of S. Stephen, on the Via Latina, near the celebrated painted tombs about four miles from Rome, was founded in honour of this saint in the time of S. Leo I., A.D. 440—461, by the maiden consecrated to God, Demetria, in her meadow, over her catacomb^k.

The remains of it were excavated and surrounded by a wall under Pio IX. The plan is clearly developed, the bases of columns are left *in situ*, and the columns themselves, with some of their capitals, are collected at one end within the wall. These evidently belong to a fabric of an earlier date than the fifth century; and the whole church has clearly been made out of some building previously existing, either the house of Demetria, or one of the chapels usual at the entrance of a catacomb, or a pagan temple. On the north side, and within the modern wall, but parallel to it, is the springing of the vault of a passage; and as this is nearly level with the soil, the passage itself must have been below that level, like the passage to a catacomb. The plan of the church is that of a basilica with an apse, which looks later than the rest of the building; and on one side of the apse is a small baptistery, with a well in it; on the other side, the sacristy. At the west end was a portico, as shewn by the bases of the columns; and the aisles were divided by a row of columns, as shewn also by the bases.

There are some small remains of a catacomb attached to this church.

^j See Anastasius, xxiv. 24; and the historians of the early Church.

^k "Hujus (S. Leonis) temporibus fecit Demetria, ancilla Dei, basilicam S. Stephano Via Latina, milliario iv., in

prædio suo." (Id., xlvii. 66.) *Ancilla Dei* is synonymous with *sacrata Deo*, used by Gregory of Tours, *Lib. de Glor. Confess.*, c. cv.

APPENDIX TO THE CATACOMBS.

THE earliest accounts of the Catacombs that we have, after the history of the martyrs buried in them, and the notices of these in the Fathers of the Church and the hymns of Prudentius, are the *Itineraries* made for the use of the pilgrims.

In his great and exhaustive work, Signor de Rossi, so frequently quoted and referred to in this chapter on the Catacombs, gives a comparative table of all the Medieval *Itineraries*, of which he finds eight :—

I. He considers the earliest to be in the *Notitia Urbis Romæ*; but this is not, and could not, be part of the original text: there is not a word on the subject there, according to Preller's text. It is an addition made in a transcript of the ninth century in a manuscript in the Vatican Library, in which sixteen cemeteries are enumerated. This number agrees with the later *Itineraries*, and with the general cemeteries now known, but of course cannot include the separate *cubicula* in each cemetery¹. This first one he calls *Index Cœmeterium*.

II. The second he calls *Indices oliorum quas collegit Johannes Abbas*. This was formed by a monk or monks, who collected oil from the lamps kept burning at the tombs of the martyrs on their festival days, as is now done on certain occasions in the restored catacomb of S. Calixtus. In the dark periods of the Middle Ages, this oil was supposed to possess miraculous properties. These two *Itineraries* united in one, were probably made in the tenth century, the darkest period of all.

¹ "I. Cimiterium Prissalle (*lege* Priscillæ) ad Sanctum Silvestrum, Via Salaria.

II. Cimiterium Jordanorum ad Sanctum Alexandrum, Via Salaria.

III. Cimiterium Pretextati ad Sanctum Januarium, Via Appia.

IV. Cimiterium Domicile (*lege* Domitillæ) Nerei et Archilei (Achillei) ad sanctam Petronillam, Via Ardeatina.

V. Cimiterium catecumbas ad Sanctum Sebastianum, Via Appia.

VI. Cimiterium Calisti ad Sanctum Sistum, Via Appia.

VII. Cimiterium ad duos Lauros ad Sanctum Petrum et Marcellinum, Via Lavicana.

VIII. Cimiterium Balbine ad Sanctum Marcum et Marcellianum, Via Ardeatina.

IX. Cimiterium ad Sanctam Columbam ad caput sancti Johannis in clivum cucumeris.

X. Cimiterium ad insulatos ad Sanctum Felicem, Via Portuensi.

XI. Cimiterium Pontiani ad Ursum Pileatum, Abdon et Sennen, Via Portuensi.

XII. Cimiterium Bassille ad Sanctum Hermen, Via Salaria.

XIII. Cimiterium Basilei ad Sanctum Marcum, Via Ardeatina.

XIV. Cimiterium Commodille ad Sanctum Felicem et Adauctum, Via Ostiensi.

XV. Cimiterium Calepodii ad Sanctum Calixtum, Via Aurelia.

XVI. Cimiterium Trasonis ad Sanctum Saturninum, Via Salaria."

III. The third is from a manuscript at Salzburg, *ex uno codice Salisburgensi*.

IV. The fourth is taken from another manuscript also at Salzburg, with additions from a transcript at Wurtzburg, which has some interpolations.

V. The fifth is contained in the Chronicle of William of Malmesbury, a monk of the twelfth century, and appears to be copied from the older one preserved at Einsiedlen in Switzerland, or both from the same source. This text is much better preserved. Sharpe's translation of this has been used in the description of the Catacombs at the head of each of the roads.

VI. *Topographia Einsiedlensis*. This has been several times referred to and used in the present chapter, but the text is very confused; Signor de Rossi has been to Einsiedlen to collate the manuscript.

VII. *Excerpta Topographica, in Vita Hadriani I.* (from Anastasius).

VIII. *Index Cœmeterium e libro Mirabilium Urbis Romæ*, which Signor de Rossi also reduces into order from the confused original.

All these are arranged in a series of tables, according to the different roads, in the same manner as we have done in following William of Malmesbury. The limits of this summary view of the subject do not admit of discussion as to each of the separate *cubicula* in which a martyr has been interred. Those who wish for further information on the subject, will find it in the great work of De Rossi, and in the excellent abridgments of it, both in English and French, before-mentioned. Those who take the trouble to compare them, cannot fail to observe that the eminent antiquary is himself more careful and accurate in his statements than the authors of the abridgments are.

We have then nothing until the sixteenth century, when Onuphrius Panvinius called attention to the subject in one of his learned works. He was contemporary with Bosio, and it is evident that his work served as a guide to that indefatigable explorer; but whether his book was written before Bosio began, or immediately afterwards, is not clear. He died in 1568, when the author of the *Roma Sotterranea* was a young man, and this work was not published until 1622, but that was long after his death. The chapter of Panvinius, "de Cœmeteriis Urbis Romæ," is the most important one for our purpose; this is given in our Appendix.

The engravings of Bosio are of much importance, and have preserved a record of many paintings now destroyed, and catacombs

not opened since his time. We have thought it desirable to give a complete list of them in this Appendix also.

Bosio was followed by Aringhi, who republished his plates with the letter-press in Latin and some additions. These have been collated, and an account of them follows the list of his predecessor's plates.

The keeper of the Catacombs then became one of the officials of the Pontifical Government, and each succeeding holder of this office has in general left some record of what was found in his time. The opinions and conjectures of Panvinus, especially the *exclusively* Christian character of the Catacombs, became established as the rule of the office, and are called "the Roman traditions;" they were, and are still followed by the successive writers as a matter of course.

Boldetti, who was one of the predecessors of Signor de Rossi in this office of Superintendent of the Catacombs for the Pontifical Government, and who also published a valuable work on the subject^m, could not do otherwise. He gives a catalogue of Pagan inscriptions found in the Catacombs during his time, beginning with one of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Pius, discovered in the catacomb of S. Hippolytus. In that of S. Cyriaca he found six Pagan inscriptions, beginning with the usual invocation to the gods, D. M. (Diis Manibus), and in some cases the words in full; another in the catacomb of Gordianus and Epimachus on the Via Latina, two in that of Priscilla with the D. M., two others in that of Priscilla, and seventeen in that of Calixtus and Prætextatus, four in that of Pontianus, four in that of S. Agnes, three in that of Lucina. In his tenth chapter he gives a list of other Pagan inscriptions with Christian ones at the back, and in his eleventh chapter some with Christian symbols, the palm-leaf, the dove, the monogram of Christ, together with the letters D. M. S. (Diis Manibus Sacrum), and others with D. M. only, which he explains as *Deo Magno*. He also published an inscription discovered in the catacomb of S. Agnes, with the dedication to Eternal Sleep:—

SOMNO HETERNALI

AVRELIVS GEMELLVS QVI BIXIT AN. III.

In his twelfth chapter he describes the Pagan symbols found on sarcophagi, as that of Aurelia Agapetilla, discovered in the catacomb of S. Agnes, with bas-reliefs of Venus Libitina or Aphrodites, Ceres and Oceanus. He cites examples of the union of the sacred and profane found in the paintings and sculptures in the Catacombs, such

^m "Osservazioni sopra i cimiterj de' SS. Martiri ed antichi Cristiani. di Roma (da Marco-Antonio Boldetti)." Roma, MDCCXX., folio, tom. ii. pp. 465 and 512.

as the Good Shepherd with Bacchus, and with the four seasons; the agapes, with the heads crowned with laurels as in profane pictures; a Christian soldier, with the *Tesseræ Lusoriæ* or Games, &c.; and he reproduces a drawing of a Gorgon's head, found in the catacomb of S. Calixtus.

Boldetti was succeeded by Bottari, who republished Bosio's plates with the following title:—"Sculture e Pitture sagre estratte dai Cimiterj di Roma, publicate gia dagli Autori della Roma Sotterranea, ed ora nuovamente date in luce colle Spiegazioni per ordine di N. S. Clemente XII. felicemente regnante. Roma, 1727—1746, 1754. 3 vols. folio."

These are Bosio's plates, with the Italian letter-press of Severano, revised and corrected by Bottari, and the work is known by the latter name. There is a short preface to the first volume, stating the facts honestly; other prefaces to the two following volumes by other hands, contain some information, and a few new inscriptions on tombstones found during the time that the work was in progress.

In the present century, the office has been held by Padre Marchi, a man of great learning and research, who published a valuable workⁿ, one of the objects of which, as stated in the preface, is to correct the errors of Boldetti and Bottari. These were his predecessors in the office which Padre Marchi then held, and the ideas of the nineteenth century were not the same as those of the seventeenth and eighteenth.

The subjects illustrated are in the Catacombs of—

S. Agnes, plates 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 19, 20.

S. Helena, plates 6, 7, 8.

S. Pontianus, plate 13.

S. Ciriaca, plates 14, 15.

S. Hermes, SS. Marcellinus et Petrus (*cubicula*), plate 16.

S. Prætextatus, plate 18.

S. Calepodius, plate 21.

Cubiculum in Via Latina, plate 22.

During his time, the French Government employed a body of artists, under the direction of M. Perret, to make a new set of drawings and engravings from the Catacombs; no expense was spared, and a magnificent work was produced in six folio volumes. The drawings are too highly coloured and too much dressed up; but in many cases the outlines were traced from the originals, as had pre-

ⁿ "Monumenti delle Arti Cristiane primitive nella Metropoli del Cristianesimo, disegnati ed illustrati per

cura di G. Marchi. Architettura." 4to., Roma, 1844; tavole xxxviii., F. Fontana del.

viously been done by Seroux d'Agincourt in a few instances, in his great work, "Histoire de l'Art par les monumens." The coloured lithographic plates of Perret now appear too theatrical, and do not convey the idea of the originals.

The Cavaliere de Rossi, who succeeded Padre Marchi as custodian of the Catacombs, not being satisfied with the great French work, undertook the task of producing more faithful representations, and his plates do convey the idea of the original art much better than the French ones; still, being made from modern drawings, although better drawings, they cannot be depended on for the history of art. Nothing but photographs can give the exact hand of the original artist so as to shew the century to which each drawing belongs. There is reason to believe that the greatest part of the frescoes were made for the pilgrims at the time when the various catacombs were *restored* by the Popes, and that fully three-fourths of these paintings belong to the eighth and ninth centuries.

The excellent plans of the Catacombs, for which the archæologists are indebted to the two brothers De Rossi, are among the most important services they have rendered to the science. These give the real ancient topography, and not the modern only, as had previously been done. They will be found in the first volume of the great work of the Commendatore de Rossi (pp. 175—183), arranged according to the routes. He also gives a table of the names of the catacombs according to the same order, with the variety of names often given to the same catacomb.

The following list of the subjects engraved in these valuable works on the Catacombs may be useful and interesting to those who have not access to the originals, nor to these large and expensive books. Those of Bosio and Aringhi are the most complete and systematic, and many paintings which they were able to draw then have almost disappeared now, or have been buried again. Bosio has left his name inscribed on the walls in several places where he had made drawings in the sixteenth century. The artists employed by the French Government under the direction of M. Perret, are said to have left their mark in a less creditable manner: in some instances, a pencil line remains traced in the outlines of the figures which they copied; or possibly these may have been made by D'Agincourt, who has published facsimile tracings of some of them. In other instances, some chemical process has been employed by the French artists to bring out the colours temporarily, which has caused them to decay more rapidly since, until these have now almost disappeared.

BOSIO.

THE following subjects were drawn by Bosio in the sixteenth century, and engraved on a series of copper-plates, which were published after his death in two folio volumes with letter-press in Italian, giving a full account of his discoveries. The same plates were afterwards republished by Aringhi, with a Latin text, giving the substance of Bosio's Italian work, and additional matter respecting the saints and martyrs interred there. This new matter is chiefly taken from the *Martyrologium Romanum*, which was enlarged in the acts of the Martyrs published by the Bollandists, in the order of the days of the months of the martyrdoms, a great work, which is still going on. Very few of the materials for the *Acta Martyrum* can be traced to an earlier period than the eighth or ninth centuries, the great era of pilgrimages at Rome to the graves of the martyrs, lately resumed in considerable numbers, but to a comparatively slight extent. A few of these acts, such as those of S. Cyprian and S. Justin Martyr, are believed to be genuine, and as early as the second or third century.

In the catacomb of S. Peter at the Vatican, several sculptures are engraved by Bosio; the earliest from the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus in the fourth century, and several from sculptures in the church of the fifteenth century, of course purely imaginary. These sculptures comprise plates I. to XIII. of Bosio and Aringhi, and most of the sculptures themselves are now preserved in the Vatican or the Lateran Museum, or in the crypt of S. Peter's.

1. Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus.
- 2, 3, 4. ——— Probus and Proba, still in the crypt of S. Peter's.
- 5 to 13 are other sculptured marble coffins (*sarcophagi*) of the same kind, found in the pavement or in the foundations in 1590, and from that to 1607 by Bosio or his friends. Many of the subjects are the same as those of the paintings, the Good Shepherd, Lazarus, Elijah, Jonah, &c.
- 14, 15. Another sarcophagus, found in the pavement, which contained the bodies of four Popes, Leo I., II., III., IV. Upon it are sculptures of Christ and the Apostles, and at their feet twelve small sheep, and a large one in the centre. At the feet of Christ may be seen small figures of S. Mary and S. John; at one end Elijah in the chariot, at the other end Abraham and Isaac. This sculpture is very probably of the time of S. Leo I. or the Great, *c.* A. D. 450.
16. Another late sarcophagus, with the cross and monogram X in the centre.
- 17 to 28 are others of similar character. The one engraved on plates 19 and 20 has foliage of Byzantine character, and at the two ends are buildings so much like those in the mosaic picture of S. Pudentiana, that they are probably copied from it. This sarcophagus is now in the Lateran Museum.

VIA PORTUENSIS.

CATACOMB OF PONTIANUS.

29. Two subjects—
 1. Head of Christ, with a cruciform nimbus, which is jewelled or ornamented with pearls or beads, a common feature in costumes of the eighth and ninth centuries.
 2. The Three Children in the "burning fiery furnace."
 30. 1. Baptism of Christ, over an arch.
 2. The jewelled cross, under the same arch. This arch is over the well, with a flight of steps down to it called the Baptistery.
 31. Christ crowning the martyrs Abdon and Sennen, SS. Milex and Bicentius, or Vincentius. Levita standing by in the attitude of adoration.
 32. 1. SS. Marcellinus, Pollinus, and Petrus. The central figure holds the crown of martyrdom in his hand, the others hold each a roll of parchment.
 2. A jewelled cross over a doorway in a rock, probably intended for Calvary; on the left S. Milex, on the right S. Pigmenius.

VIA OSTIENSIS.

137. A CUBICULUM, found near Ostia. after the death of Bosio. Two views shewing the graves in the walls.
 139. The vault of the same Cubiculum, with the Good Shepherd in the centre, and the four seasons in four panels of the vault; on the walls, the history of Jonah. All these paintings were executed in yellow ochre only, and the vault, which was in a tumulus or mound on the bank of the river, was obliged to be destroyed.
 Pp. 155, 157, 159, 161, are from sculptures.
 Pp. 181, 183. Burial of SS. Peter and Paul, from a sculpture over the door of old S. Peter's, of the time of Martin V., A.D. 1420.
 P. 195. Plan of S. Sebastian's, the original drawing is now preserved in S. Maria in Aventino.

VIA APPIA.

S. CALIXTUS.

- P. 197, 199, 201, are vases said to have contained the blood of martyrs, and lachrymatories; two of the vases have the monogram K of Constantine, the others appear to be also of the fourth century.
 P. 203, 205, 207, 209, 211, are lamps, some of bronze, others of earthenware. One of them also has the monogram, another the Good Shepherd; these appear to be all of the fourth and fifth centuries.
 P. 219, 221, 223. FIRST CUBICULUM. View of two of the subjects in it. 1. Christ on a throne, with the Twelve Apostles; two seated, the rest standing. 2. The Good Shepherd standing between the trees in a landscape, with figures symbolical of Spring and Summer.
 P. 225. History of Jonah (third picture in the first Cubiculum).
 227. Moses striking the rock, dressed in surplice, and what appears to be a stole (fourth picture in first Cubiculum), and other miracles.
 229. SECOND CUBICULUM, two views.
 231. Vault of the same. In the centre, miracle of the loaves, in panels of the vault. 1. Moses and the rock; 2. Noah; 3. "Fiery furnace;" 4. Abraham and Isaac; 5. Miracle of the loaves.
 233. Under the arch, 1. Adam and Eve; 2. The Paralytic; 3. An orante.
 235. Daniel and the lions, two Prophets with scrolls.
 237. THIRD CUBICULUM, two views.
 239. Vault of the same. In the centre, Orpheus. In panels, 1. Daniel; 2. Lazarus; 3. David with the sling; 4. Moses. In the intermediate panels are animals charmed by Orpheus.
 241. Wall and arch. 1. "Fiery furnace;" 2. and 3. Orantes; 4. Good Shepherd.

243. Vault. 1. In the centre, Noah ; 2. Tobias with the fish ; 3. Jonah under the gourd or ivy-bush (?) ; 4. Job ; 5. Jonah recumbent, with the sun hot upon him.
245. Wall and arch. 1. Moses with vases of manna (?) ; 2. Christ with bread in His bosom ; 3. The Woman of Samaria ; 4. An orante.
247. Vault in the third Cubiculum. In the centre, Moses, with the Law in his hand (?) ; the remainder flowers only.
249. Miracles of the blind and the paralytic. Two lambs, each with a crook and a vase.
251. I. FOURTH CUBICULUM. View in two parts, right and left of the *lucerna* or *luminare*.
253. 2. The vault, with the head of Christ in the centre, enclosed in a circle, octagonal frames beyond, and on the sides vases with birds and flowers.
255. 3. AN ARCO-SOLIUM, with figures painted on the surface of the wall. In the centre a Madonna, seated (the Magi destroyed) ; on the right, Moses striking the rock ; on the left, a Prophet ; a building in the background. Under the arch, Orpheus with the yre, the birds and the beasts.
257. Third Painting on the fourth Cubiculum. On the wall, an orante, Noah, Lazarus ; under the arch, Elijah and Elisha.
259. Fourth Picture in the fourth Cubiculum. On the wall, Moses taking off his shoes ; under the arch, Daniel and the lions.
261. Under the arch, Christ and Disciples ; on the wall and on the soffit, grapes and children.
263. Under the arch, a head in a circular frame, in the costume of a Cardinal (?) ; on the wall, Daniel and Moses.
265. Under an arch, the Good Shepherd.
267. Fragments from two paintings. 1. Head of Christ ; 2. Moses ; 3. Lazarus ; 4. Good Shepherd ; 5. Miracle of the loaves ; 6. Christ blessing a child.
269. 1. Two orantes ; 2. The Good Shepherd.
271. The same subjects.
273. 1. Adam and Eve ; 2. An orante under an arch, of very late character ; 3. Good Shepherd and two orantes °.
277. Jonah, the Good Shepherd, two orantes.
279. 1. General view of Arco-solium, or painted arch. On the wall under it, father, mother, and child ; in centre of soffit, the Good Shepherd ; on the left, the three children led to worship the image of Nebuchadnezzar ; on the right, offering of the Magi.
281. In the centre, the Good Shepherd ; left, Moses taking off his shoes ; right, Moses striking the rock.
- 285, 287, 289, 291, 293, 295. Sculptures.

VIA LATINA.

305. The Marriage Feast of Cana, or a funeral feast ; six figures seated at a triclinium, with four large water or wine vessels in front.

FIRST CUBICULUM. View, with fossore.

307. Vault. In centre, 1. Good Shepherd. In panels ; 2. Christ blessing a child ; 3. Job ; 4. Lazarus ; 5. Moses ; 6. and 7. Lambs bearing crosses.
309. SECOND CUBICULUM. View.
311. Vault of the same, with the Good Shepherd and vine. Under the arch, an orante, with two caskets.

VIA LABICANA.

SS. PETER AND MARCELLINUS.

323. Plan of the TOMB OF S. HELENA, called the Church of SS. Peter and Marcellinus.

° N.B. The drawing and costumes of nearly all these frescoes in S. Calixtus, S. Cornelius, and S. Sixtus seem to be-

long to the *restoration* of Leo III., A.D. 795. Those in SS. Peter and Marcellinus were *restored* A.D. 772 by Hadrian I.

325. Plan and View of the confessio.
 329. FIRST CUBICULUM. Views.
 331. Vault of the same. In the centre,
 1. Good Shepherd ; 2. Jonah ; 3. Lazarus ; 4. Miracle of the loaves.
 333. SECOND CUBICULUM. View.
 335. Vault of the same ; 1. Good Shepherd in the centre, with four orantes in panels. Two fossosores.
 337. THIRD CUBICULUM. View.
 339. Vault of the same. 1. Good Shepherd in the centre ; 2. Noah ; 3. Lazarus ; 4. Daniel and lions ; 5. Abraham ; 6 and 7. Fossosores.
 341. FOURTH CUBICULUM. View.
 343. Vault of the same. 1. Good Shepherd ; 2 and 3. Jonah ; 4. Noah ; A. Moses ; B. Christ blessing a child.
 345. FIFTH CUBICULUM. View.
 347. 1. Good Shepherd ; 2. Paralytic, with bed ; 3. Job ; 4. orante.
 349. SIXTH CUBICULUM. Views.
 351. Vault of the same ; 1. Good Shepherd ; 2, 3, 4, and 5. orantes.
 353. SEVENTH CUBICULUM. View.
 355. Feast of Cana, with four large vases.
 357. EIGHTH CUBICULUM. View.
 359. Paintings on the same : 1. Abraham ; 2. Lazarus ; 3. Moses ; 4. orantes.
 361. NINTH CUBICULUM. View.
 363. Vault of the same ; 1. Good Shepherd ; 2, 3, 4. Moses.
 365. TENTH CUBICULUM. View.
 367. Vault of the same ; 1, 2, 3. orantes ; 4. Moses ; 5. Miracle of the loaves.
 369. Paintings in the same : 1. Good Shepherd ; 2. Jonah ; 3. Moses ; 4. orante.
 371. ELEVENTH CUBICULUM. View.
 373. Vault of the same : 1. Good Shepherd ; 2. Paralytic ; 3. Miracle of the loaves ; 4. Lazarus ; 5. Daniel ; 6 and 7. Jonah ; 8. Moses ; 9. Noah. Two fossosores.
 375. TWELFTH CUBICULUM. View.
 377. Vault of the same : 1. Daniel and lions in the centre ; 2. Noah ; 3, 4, 5. Jonah. Two orantes.
 379. THIRTEENTH CUBICULUM. View.
 381. Paintings in the same : 1. A matron, orante, with two persons addressing her ; 2. Moses ; 3. Adam and Eve.
 383. 1. Good Shepherd ; 2, 3, 4, 5. Jonah ; A. Daniel ; B. Lazarus.
 385. FOURTEENTH CUBICULUM. View.
 387. 1. Good Shepherd ; 2. orante ; 3. Daniel.
 389. 1. Orante, with two figures addressing her ; 2. Adam and Eve ; 3. Magi ; 4. Moses.
 391. 1. Funeral Feast ; 2. Good Shepherd ; 3 and 4. Jonah.
 393. 1. View of the Arch ; 2. Lazarus ; 3. orante ; 4 and 5. Moses.
 395. THIRD ARCO-SOLIUM. 1. Abraham ; 2. Adam ; 3. Moses ; 4. Lazarus ; 5. orante ; 6. Funeral feast.
- VIA TIBURTINA.
- S. CYRIACA.
403. In the Catacomb of S. Cyriaca, an inscription, with the name of
 FOCA III COS. CARI AMICI
 A.D. 604(?) or 610.
 405. Orante under an arch, with two figures.
 408. Other inscriptions give the dates of A.D. 369, 405, 453.
 409. Other inscriptions give the dates of A.D. 428, 511.
 411. Sarcophagus at S. Lorenzo.
 421. Another at S. Constantia.
 423, 425, 427, 429, 431. Sarcophagi.
- VIA NOMENTANA.
- S. AGNESE.
441. FIRST CUBICULUM. View.
 443. Interior of the same.
 445. Vault of the same. 1. Christ seated, with the scroll ; 2 and 3. Moses ; 4. Paralytic ; 5. Lazarus ; 6, 7, 8, 9. orantes.
 447. An agape, or funeral feast.
 449. 1. Noah ; 2, 3, 4, 5. Jonah.
 451. 1. Good Shepherd ; 2. Daniel and lions.
 453. SECOND CUBICULUM. View.
 455. 1. Good Shepherd ; 2. Adam ; 3. Moses ; 4. Jonah ; 5. orante.

457. 1. Christ and the Doctors; 2. orante.
459. THIRD CUBICULUM. View.
461. 1. Good Shepherd; 2. Adam; 3. Daniel; 4. feast; 5. virgin; 6. orante.
463. 1. Furnace; 2. orante; 3. Jonah.
465. FOURTH CUBICULUM. View.
467. 1. Good Shepherd; 2. Moses; 3. Lazarus; 4. Jonah; 5. orante.
469. FIFTH CUBICULUM. View.
471. 1. Madonna; 2. Head of Christ; 3, 4. orante.
473. FIRST ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. View; 2. Head of boy; 3, 4. orantes; 5. Good Shepherd; 6. Jonah; 7. a man led by another, and followed by a third with a rod, Jacob or Samson.
475. SECOND ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. View; 2. Christ, with two Apostles; 3. Good Shepherd; 4. orante.
- VIA SALARIA.
S. PRISCILLA.
489. CHAPEL OF S. SILVANUS.
S. PRISCILLA.
493. FIRST CUBICULUM.
495. 1. Furnace; 2. Seven Virgins.
497. SECOND CUBICULUM.
499. 1. Head in circle; 2, 3. Ladies with scrolls; 4, 5. Triumphal cars; 6, 7. Figure of Victory.
501. FIRST ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. View; 2. A soldier with a boy; 3. Moses(?) 4. Head of a soldier in a circle; 5. Abraham.
503. SECOND ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. View; 2. orante; 3. Abraham; 4. Good Shepherd; 5. Moses.
511. SCULPTURE.
513. Sarcophagus. On one side, an agape; on the other, three shepherds and six sheep; with a Greek inscription to Paulina, of the fourth century.
515. THIRD ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. View; 2. Lazarus; 3. Moses, with seven baskets of manna; 4. Moses striking the rock.
517. 1. Good Shepherd; 2. orante; 3. Noah; 4. Daniel.
519. FOURTH ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. Good Shepherd; 2. S. Paul, with inscription of name.
521. FIFTH ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. View; 2. Moses; 3. Daniel; 4. Jonah.
523. SIXTH ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. View; 2. Christ and Apostles; 3, 4. Jonah.
525. SEVENTH ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. Orante; 2. Abraham; 3. furnace.
527. EIGHTH ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. View; 2. Good Shepherd; 3. Daniel; 4. Jonah.
529. NINTH ARCO-SOLIUM.
1, 2. Views; 3. Noah; 4. orante; 5. fossor.
531. TENTH ARCO-SOLIUM.
1. View; 2. Good Shepherd, two sheep, two cocks; 3. orante; 4. peacock; 5. Noah.
535. THIRD CUBICULUM. Two Views.
537. Vault of the same; 1. Good Shepherd; 2 and 3. orantes.
539. FOURTH CUBICULUM. Two Views.
541. Vault of the same. A lady seated, a prophet (?) addressing her.
543. Wall of the same. 1. Lazarus; 2, 3, 4. Jonah.
545. FIFTH CUBICULUM. Two Views.
547. Vault of the same; 1. Good Shepherd; 2. Jonah, birds and lambs.
549. FIFTH CUBICULUM. Under an arch: 1. orante; 2. Consecration of a virgin; 2, 3. Madonna, an ordination of a deacon (?)^p.
551. FIFTH CUBICULUM. 1. Abraham; 2. Fiery furnace.
553. SIXTH CUBICULUM. Two Views.
555. Vault of the same. 1. Good Shepherd; 2. Noah; 3, 4, 5. Jonah; 6, 7, 8, 9. orantes.
557. Wall of the same. 1. Peacock; 2. Eight men carrying a barrel; two doves^q.

^p Costumes of all, surplice, and stole(?).

^q Nearly all these paintings in S. Priscilla appear to belong to the restoration of this catacomb by Pope John I., A.D. 523.

VIA SALARIA.

561. Church or Chapel of S. HERMES, in that Catacomb.
 565. FIRST ARCO-SOLIUM. 1. View ;
 2. Christ on a throne, seated, and an ordination of a deacon : three figures standing, all in surplice, stole, and cope, with the T on the edge of the robe, as in the mosaics at Ravenna ;
 3. Daniel ; 4. Moses ; 5. Lazarus ; 6. Furnace.
 567. SECOND ARCO-SOLIUM. 1. View ;
 2. Christ blessing a youth ; 3. Jonah ; 4. Moses ; 5. Shepherd ; 6. Jonah ; 7. Lazarus ; Samson with the gates ; Jonah.
 569. THIRD CUBICULUM. 1. View ;
 2. Orante ; 3. Manna, or loaves (?).
 571. Martyrdom of S. Sebastian in terracotta bas-relief.

VIA FLAMINIA.

577. FIRST CUBICULUM. } S
 S. Julien or S. Valentine (?). } A
 579. 1. Madonna [SCA DEI GENE- } L
 TRIX. x] ; 2. Sebastian ; 3. A } O
 martyr in a vase of boiling oil (?), } M
 of the eighth or ninth century ; } E
 4. Infant Christ, with cruciform nimbus.
 581. SECOND CUBICULUM. 1. Crucifixion ; 2. S. Laurence ; 3. A martyr.
 589. Two sarcophagi.
 591. 1. A sarcophagus.
 2. A. Plan of the catacomb of Pontianus ; B., of S. Calixtus ; C., of S. Calixtus, lower corridor ; D., SS. Peter and Marcellinus ; E., S. Agnes ; F., S. Hermes and S. Priscilla.

THE PLATES IN BOSIO, ROMA SOTTERRANEA^r, AND ARINGHI, ROMA SUBTERRANEA, COMPARED^s.

ARINGHI.

BOSIO.

Vol. I.

The Title-page is copied from Bosio, but re-engraved.

Antiquæ Romæ FACIES, or ancient Plan of Rome p. 188

S. PETER'S.

Burial of S. Peter	228	p. 29.
Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus	277	45.
Sculptures on other sarcophagi	281 to 335	49 to 103.

VIA PORTUENSIS—S. PONTIANUS.

Paintings in cemeteries	379 to 389	129 to 139.
Sculptures on sarcophagi	423 to 469	155 to 183.

VIA APPIA—S. SEBASTIAN'S.

Plan	471	185.
Vases, lamps, &c.	497 to 519	197 to 211.

S. CALIXTUS.

Paintings	527 to 589	219 to 281.
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S. SEBASTIAN'S.

Sculptures on sarcophagi	613 to 623	285 to 295.
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^r "Roma Sottterranea, opera postuma di Antonio Bosio, antiquario ecclesiastico singolare de' suoi tempi, compita, disposta, ed accresciuta dal M. R. P. Giovanni Severani da S. Severino, sacerdote della congregazione dell' Oratorio di Roma," &c. fol., Roma, 1632.

^s "Roma Subterranea novissima, in qua post Antonium Bosium antesigna-

tum, Jo. Severanum, congreg. Oratorii presb., et celebres alios scriptores, etc., sex libris distincta illustrantur, opera et studio Pauli Aringhi, Romani, congreg. ejusdem presb." 2 vols. fol. Rome, 1651. This work was reprinted at Cologne in 1659, fol., and an abridgment of it was published at Arnheim, in 1671, 12mo.

	ARINGHI. Vol. II.	BOSIO.
VIA LATINA [LABICANA?].		
Cœmeteria	23 to 29	305 to 311.
S. HELENA.		
Sarcophagus	41	317.
S. MARCELLINUS ET PETRUS.		
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Plans of the Tomb and Church	57	329.
VIA TIBURTINA—S. CYRIACA.		
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S. LAURENTIUS.		
Sarcophagus	143	411.
VIA NONENTANA—S. CONSTANTIA.		
Sarcophagus	157	421.
S. AGNES.		
Sarcophagi	159 to 167	423 to 431.
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VIA SALARIA.		
SS. SYLVANUS ET BONIFACIUS	243	489.
S. PRISCILLA.		
Paintings	247 to 315	493 to 555.
S. Agnes, by mistake, in both	317	557.
S. HERMES.		
Capella, called <i>Templum</i>	325	561.
Paintings	329 to 333	565 to 569.
Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, in terra-cotta, in the Cemetery of Priscilla	335	571.
S. JULIUS.		
Paintings	350 to 355	577 to 581.
Sarcophagi	395 to 401	589 to 591.
Plans of the Catacombs of Pontianus, Calixtus, Marcellinus and Peter, Agnes, Hermes, Priscilla	408 to 416	591A to 599.
Additional Plans, not in Bosio, LUCINA, CALE- PODIUS, AGATHA, NOVELLA	417 to 423.	
PONTIANUS.		
Paintings not in Bosio	527.	

PERRET.

List of the Engravings in the great French work on the Catacombs, by Louis Perret, six volumes, large folio. Paris, 1852-56.

VOL. I.

VIA APPIA.

S. SEBASTIAN.

1. General title, with the Madonna of S. Luke (?), from S. Maria Maggiore.
2. Title of the Platonica, with heads of SS. Peter and Paul, from a medal in the Vatican.
3. Plan of the Platonica, at S. Sebastiano.
- 4 and 5. Sections of the same.
6. Paintings in the same, of the eighth century (c. A.D. 772).
7. Christ, with SS. Peter and Paul, on a larger scale (from the same).
8. An Apostle, with a crown in his hand (from the same).
9. Ascension of Christ (from the same).
10. Crucifixion (from the same).
11. Head of S. Paul.
12. Head of a saint, with a bishop's mitre; full size.
13. Head of a female saint; full size.
14. Ornamented diaper pattern, with birds, &c.

S. CALIXTUS.

The paintings in this Catacomb are chiefly of the time of the *restoration* by Leo III., A.D. 795, and many are modern restorations.

15. Entrance.
16. Plan.
17. Plan of painted chapel, of two parts.
18. View in the Hall of the Men, with columns.
19. View in the Hall of the Women, with columns also.
20. Orpheus playing the lute.
21. A saint in the Oriental attitude of blessing (c. A.D. 795).
22. Ornamental pattern on the wall, and vault.
23. Noah in the ark, with the dove.
24. Moses taking off his shoes.

25. Job.
26. Raising of Lazarus.
27. Miracle of the loaves.
28. Head of Christ, full size. A mosaic from this is now in the Vatican Museum.
29. The Last Supper; Christ and six Apostles; full size.
30. The Last Supper; the other six Apostles.
31. Instruments of the fossore, as engraved on tombstones.
- 32 and 33. Inscriptions relating to the fossore.
34. An orante, full size; now in the Vatican Museum.
- 34 bis. Painted vault of a chapel, with Orpheus in the centre.

PRÆTEXTATUS,

Called also S. Urban, *restored* by Hadrian I., A.D. 772.

35. Title-page of the cemetery, with a view of the steps.
36. Plan of a double cubiculum or chapel, excavated in 1846.
37. Section of the same.
38. View in the Hall of the Men.
39. Plan and section of a family cubiculum, or burial-vault.
40. Plan of a chapel of two chambers.
41. Longitudinal section of the same, with an ornamental cornice or corbel-table; eighth century.
42. Transverse section of the same.
43. Plan of a painted chapel, of two chambers.
44. Perspective view of the same, with figures of orantes, and inscriptions over their heads, as follows:—
Inscriptions on tombstones: DIONISIUS IN PACE; PROCBIUS IN PACE; TESSIDORA IN PACE.
The figures are represented on a larger scale in the following plates.
45. A female orante; full size, eighth century (c. A.D. 772).

46. A boy orante.
 47. Drocobius, a male orante; full size.
 48. Theodora, a female orante, full size, with the bead necklace and lemon-shaped eyes, as usual in the eighth century.
 49. Head of a female orante; full size, with inscription, *DIONYSAS IN PACE*.
 50. Christ and four saints, in outline; three with monogram; discovered in 1849.
 51. A peacock; discovered in 1849.
 52. Plan of another chapel, of two chambers, with luminary.
 53. Longitudinal section of the same.
 54. Plan and section of two arco-solia.
 55. Paintings of the left cubiculum, front view.
 A cross, with shrubs, and two birds; Miracle of loaves and fishes; a table ornamented with the cross, upon it a fish.
 56. Garland of flowers.
 57. Moses, on three occasions, in outline.
 58. Cubiculum, or chapel of three chambers; two plans, and view of a tomb, with inscription, *EVNVCVS*, and monogram of Constantine.
 59. Section of the same.
 60. A baptism; Jonah cast out of the whale or sea serpent (c. A. D. 450).
 61. Seven baskets of bread, a table with a fish, and two loaves.
 62. Plan of a chapel, with luminary; discovered in 1845.
 63. View of the same, with columns.
 64. Two doves, with a vase between them, standing on a tomb.
 65. Painted vault of a cubiculum; discovered in 1850.
 66. Painted ornament on the wall of the same.
 67. Jonah under the gourd; a painting discovered in 1850.
 68. Plan of two arco-solia; elevation of one of them.
 69. A female martyr.

¹ This subject, which may be considered as Pagan, was adopted by the early Christians; we find it as late as

- THE WORSHIPPERS OF MITHRAS (?);
 OR, THE GNOSTICS (?).
 70. A funeral feast; six figures seated, and five attendants, with the names on each figure, *INDICTIO BONORVM*, *INDVCTIO VIBIES*, *ANGELVS BONVS* (leading in *VIBIA*). Wine-jug, servants, one kneeling, a loaf, a fish.
 71. Groups of figures; on the soffit of the right-hand arch, *VINCENTIVS*, *SEPTEM PII SACERDOTES*, dressed in cloaks, with fibulæ; seven figures, three of the heads have Phrygian caps. It is called the mystic banquet.
 72. The painting is on the soffit of the arch. Left hand, a chariot with four horses; a man carrying the body of a female, said to represent *DEATH*; a figure, with a round shield, resembling *Mercury* leading the horses. Inscription over the chariot, *ABREPTIO VIBIES ET DESCENSIO*. Groups in centre of arch.
 73. The Judgment; two figures seated on a throne, over *I. DIS PATER*; over 2. a female figure, *ABRACVRA*. On the right of the father, three female figures, with the inscription over them, *FATA DIVINA*. To the left, three other figures, two females, with the names *VIBIA ALCESTIS*; and *Mercury*, with the name *MERCVRIVS NVNTIVS*.
 74. The three Fates, full size.¹
 75. Coloured title-page for the mosaic picture in the church of S. Agnes; two erect figures, with the nimbus, habited as priests.
 76. Rude figures in outline, from an arco-solium, discovered in 1849; *PAVLVS*, *PETRVS* (damaged), with a tower between.
 77. Two busts; one on right, *SISTVS*, with a tower between.
 78. A sheep between two zebras.
 SVSANNÆ SENIORI.
 79. A figure with a laurel crown, under a tree, with a bird.

the ninth century among the illustrations of an old and very valuable manuscript of the Psalter preserved at Utrecht.

80. Two figures, presenting palm-branches.
81. The woman of Samaria at the well.
82. Three figures, in togas, with bare legs and feet.
83. Baptistry of S. Valerian, a coloured plate (ninth century?), three figures.
- | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|---|
| V | | | S |
| R | S. Urban, | The Ma- | I |
| B | with a | donna, | O |
| A | jewelled | with | H |
| N | book. | Christ as | A |
| U | | a boy. | N |
| S | | | I |
| | | | S |
84. Three heads. In the centre Christ, with the cruciform nimbus; on his left a female saint, with the name in Greek, MITERTHEY; on his right a youthful male figure, S. SMARAGDVS (c. A.D. 800).
85. An arch, with mouldings and pilasters, which have rudely-sculptured capitals.
14. View in the crypt, with three seats, shewing two of them.
15. View in another part of the same crypt, with two shelves or niches called credences (?).
16. Plan of another chapel, with a vestibule and two seats.
17. View in the same, looking towards the altar, and shewing one of the seats.
18. View in the vestibule, shewing a seat and two credences (?).
19. Plan of a crypt, discovered in 1849.
20. View in the crypt discovered in 1849, shewing two pilasters or half columns.
21. Plan of a chapel called *of Christ in the miast of His Disciples*.
22. Painted vault of the same chapel or burial-chamber (cubiculum). In the centre, the Good Shepherd, with a lamb on His shoulders, a vase on each side, and a bird against one of them, surrounded by other birds. Round the sides of the vault: Adam and Eve, Moses striking the rock, Jonah under the gourd, an orante, birds in the corners, and vases of flowers between.

VOL. II.

VIA NONENTANA.

S. AGNES.

1. Coloured title-page for this catacomb. Figure of S. Agnes, from the mosaic picture in her church.
2. Entrance to the catacomb, with a view of the country.
3. Plan of the catacomb of S. Agnes.
4. Plan of a chapel called that of the Virgin.
5. View of an arco-solium, with figure of the Madonna, and head of Christ as a boy (mutilated), c. A. D. 800.
6. The same, large and restored.
7. A male and a female orante, restored.
8. Plan of a large chapel, discovered in 1842.
9. Section of the same, longitudinal.
10. Section of the same, transverse.
11. View of the same.
12. View in part, called the Hall of the Women.
13. Plan of a crypt of two chambers, connected by a passage; in one are two seats, in the other a third seat.
23. An arco-solium, or recess in the wall of the same chamber, with outline of painting under the arch.
24. Painting of Christ and His Disciples, all seated; attired in surplice and stole, some of these red, others green.
25. The Good Shepherd, in colour.
26. Adam and Eve, in outline.
27. An orante, a bird, Moses, in colour.
28. Jonah under the gourd, in colour.
29. Plan of a chapel called *of the Agape*. This chapel is double, or in two parts, with a road, street, or corridor between.
30. Painted vault of the chapel called *the Agape*. In the centre, Christ with two baskets of rolls of parchment. On each of the four sides, a shepherd with two sheep, between the smaller figures of Moses and Samson.
31. View in the same chapel (in colour), side of the credence.

32. The figure of Christ, with two baskets; in outline.
33. Figure of Moses striking the rock, in colour.
34. Figures, in outline, of Moses taking off his shoes, Samson carrying the gates.
35. A view in the same chapel, on the right side, in colour.
36. The three children in the furnace, outline.
37. Perspective view of the same chapel, left side, shewing an arco-solium with painting on the arch and on the wall; Noah and Jonah.
38. Crypt of the prudent Virgins. Plan and sections.
39. View of an arco-solium in the same crypt, in colour. 1. The three children in the furnace; 2. An orante; 3. Jonah. On the soffit of the arch: 1. Adam and Eve; 2. Good Shepherd; 3. Daniel.
40. The Good Shepherd, in colour.
41. Adam and Eve, in colour.
42. 1. The five prudent Virgins; 2. Daniel, in colour.
43. Plan and section of the Cubiculum called the Hall of the female Catechumens.
44. Another plan of the same.
45. Perspective view of the same, outline.
46. Plan and section of a family vault.
47. 1. A shepherdess milking a sheep; 2. An orante; 3. The Good Shepherd.
48. King Herod seated on his throne, with the star over his head; the three Magi addressing him (a painting discovered in 1847).
49. Head of Christ, from a terra-cotta bust.
50. Christ seated between two Apostles, with a book in His left hand, His right hand elevated, a basket of rolls on each side (a painting discovered in 1849; eighth century).
51. The Good Shepherd, in outline (a painting discovered in 1849; eighth century).
52. The Good Shepherd, with some sheep, outline (a painting discovered in 1850; eighth century).
53. Noah in the Ark, outline (a painting discovered in 1850; eighth century).
54. Angle of three galleries or corridors.

VIA LABICANA.

SS. MARCELLINUS AND PETER.

Restored by Hadrian, A.D. 772.

55. Title-page; a Good Shepherd seated with a crook in His hand, drawing a lamb to Him.
56. Entrance to the cemetery or catacomb, with view of the tomb of S. Helena.
57. 1. A woman crowned; 2. An orante; both attired in surplice and stole.
58. A man and a boy, both orantes, and head of a female crowned with laurel-leaves, in colour.
59. A Good Shepherd, with his reeds.
60. An Agape, love-feast, or funeral feast (?); three figures seated and two servants, in outline.
61. Painted vault of a chapel, in outline. In the centre, a Good Shepherd with his sheep, in a square panel, with heads in the corners. Round the sides, Noah in the ark, Abraham and Isaac, Daniel with the lions, the raising of one from the dead, from a tomb. In the corners four goats.

CATACOMB OF S. HELENA.

Restored, A.D. 772.

62. Plan and longitudinal section of the catacomb.
63. Mosaic pavement discovered in 1838, Nos. 1 and 3; in colours.
64. Mosaic pavement discovered in 1838, No. 2; in colours.
65. Mosaic pavement discovered in 1838, Nos. 4 and 5; in colours.
66. The four Evangelists in outline. The lower parts of the figures and the baskets of rolls are all that remain.

VOL. III.

General Title-page of the volume ; brick stamp of a seal, with crown and olive-branch, and inscription VANTIORVM.

VIA SALARIA.

CATACOMB OF S. PRISCILLA.

[The style of drawing of the figures in these frescoes agrees with the time of the *restoration* by John I., A.D. 523.]

1. Title-page. View of entrance and the Campagna.
2. Paintings between two loculi ; the slabs or tiles have been removed. On the top line—Jonah and the whale or sea-serpent, Jonah under the ivy-bush, Moses striking the rock. Second line—birds and flowers. Third line—birds and flowers, and a small female head, at each end an orante, with a stole or broad hem to the garment (?), and a crown with a veil over it, the hand uplifted in prayer.
3. The orante on the right hand.
4. The left-hand orante.
5. Jonah and the sea-serpent.
6. Moses striking the rock ; full size, not coloured.
7. Painting on a loculus, beginning from the left. 1. Raising of Lazarus ; 2. An orante, with the word GRATIA over his head ; 3. The Three Children in the furnace ; 4. Daniel and the lions ; 5. Another orante, with the words over his head BENE MERENTI.
8. Outline of painted vault. In the centre, the Good Shepherd, surrounded by wreaths of leaves and flowers and birds, with a goat in each of the four corners.
9. An orante attired in a red robe, with a broad black border, or stole, and black borders to the sleeves.
10. A figure in a yellow tunic, with green border and four large round green spots. In his right hand he carries a roll, in his left a book spread open, with the words DORMITII SILVESTRI. This figure is said to be that of a slave.
11. A peacock, with the tail expanded ; diaper ornament for background.
12. Painting over an altar (?), not coloured. 1. SANCTA PRASSEDE, attired in a robe and veil ; in her left hand a cross, in her right a crown. 2. SANCTVS PETRVS, attired in a white flowing robe or cope (?), the dress marked with the *tau* cross ; in his hand the keys. 3. SANCTA PVDENTIANA, with a Latin cross in her left hand, and her crown in her right ; attired as a nun.
13. Three female figures, in colour, over the altar in the crypt of the Church of S. Prassede, well attired, with a profusion of bead ornaments ; costume of the eighth century. In the centre, the Madonna, with her hand uplifted as blessing ; on her right, S. Pudentiana, with the names underneath ; on her left, S. Prassede, each with her crown. All three have red cloaks, and the rest of the dress resembles that of a priest, with chasuble and pall (?).

SS. THRASON AND SATURNINUS.

14. Title-page of the Cemetery. In the title three seals : 1. A mother and a child on her right, *not* a Madonna. 2. A sort of wheel of saints, with the Madonna in the centre. 3. MARIA, with her name over her head. On her right S. PAVLVS ; on her left S. PETRVS ; on each shoulder a roll of parchment or books, all enclosed in an engrailed circle ; [tenth century (?)].
15. Plan of a second cubiculum, with skeletons, and a figure of a peacock (not coloured), tail not expanded.
16. View in the painted chamber, shewing the vault and the figures under the arch. The subjects are : in the arch, the Good Shepherd, with two peacocks and four other birds on the vault, and on the wall Jonah and the sea-serpent. Under the arch, a group

- of figures, apparently a woman preaching, and persons seated on each side; on one side, a mother with a baby, on the other, an old man and two youths.
17. The group of figures on a larger scale. The interpretation given by Perret is, an orante with virgins on one side, and Maternity on the other; but different symbolical meanings are given to this painting. The painting is of the eighth century. The orante has a veil folded like a napkin upon her head.
 18. Maternity. The figure in outline.
 19. The orante (as before).
 20. The sacrifice of Abraham, with Isaac carrying the fagot.
 21. A peacock, not coloured.
 22. Jonah and the sea-serpent, not coloured.
 23. The Good Shepherd, not coloured, in a circular border. He is accompanied by two goats, one sheep, and two birds.
 24. The crowning of a female martyr by two male saints.
 25. An orante, with two figures addressing her on one side, and a single figure on the other side, who appears to be listening, and has just come out of a tent. A Greek inscription under it; not coloured.
 26. Tobit and the angel, with the fish; not coloured.
 27. Plan and view of a chapel, with three seats.
 28. Perspective view of the same.
 29. Plan and view of a crypt.
 30. Plan and view of another crypt, with columns.
 31. Plan and section of a crypt, with loculi and a cubiculum with paintings.
- SS. HERMES AND BASILLA.
32. Title-page of the Cemetery, with the marble covering of a well, found in the crypt of S. Protus and S. Hyacinthus.
 33. Plan and section of the church of S. Hermes at the entrance to the catacomb.
 34. View in the same church, shewing the brick construction.
 35. Painting of Christ and the twelve Apostles, seated in a semicircle, attired in surplices (?).
 36. Mosaic picture in the crypt of S. Protus and S. Hyacinthus, representing Daniel and the lions, and the resurrection of Lazarus (in outline only), A.D. 629.
- VIA TIBURTINA.
S. CYRIACA.
37. Title-page of the Cemetery. View of entrance to the catacomb.
 38. Three figures in colour.
- SCA CYRIACE MR. OV. SCA CATHARINA.
- (Eighth century.) The picture was discovered in 1848. All three have the nimbus.
39. SCA CECILIA, head and bust, with her crown. She is richly attired in yellow and green, with pearl ornaments, and carries a coffer. This painting was discovered in 1848.
 40. A female saint, richly attired, with bead ornaments, carrying a coffer or offering.
 41. Outline of a bird and a fish.
 42. The Madonna, with Christ as a boy, and five saints. All have the nimbus.
 43. Christ seated between two saints, also seated; a part in outline only. [The figures on these two pictures are in theatrical attitudes, and of late character.]
 44. Head of a female saint, in colours; [eighth or ninth century, if not later.]
 45. Three loculi, with the tiles left in their places. 1. On the upper one a brick stamp and a lamp. 2. A second loculus, with one of the tiles removed, shewing a skeleton and two palm-branches. 3. An inscription on a loculus, with the Constantinian monogram, the anchor, the dove and olive-branch, and a palm-branch. Inscription—
CYRIACAE DVLCISSIMAE DEPOSITA
IN PACE VIXIT ANNOS XXXV.
IDIVS MARTIIS
(This plate appears to be made up.)

46. A female orante, with two male persons addressing her.
47. Plan of a crypt.
48. Perspective view in the crypt, an arco-solium with five loculi.
49. Title-page of the Cemetery of S. PONTIANUS, with the font in the crypt of the church of S. Prisca, made out of the capital and base of an antique column.
50. Plan of the baptistery of this catacomb, with the steps down to it and the well.
51. Section of the baptistery and steps.
52. View in the baptistery, shewing the paintings of the baptism of Christ and the jewelled cross.
53. Head of Christ, with a cruciform nimbus jewelled, and a book in His hand, with the word DOMINVS; not coloured.
54. Another head of Christ near the baptistery, in colours similar to the last.
55. Baptism of Christ, in outline.
56. Christ putting the laurel crowns on the heads of SS. Abdon and Sennen, with two other saints looking on and admiring; over one BICCLIVS, the other name is not legible.
57. The jewelled cross, in colours.
58. Figures of three saints, in colour.

SCS	SCS	SCS
MAR	POL	PE
CEL	LI	TR
LI	ON	VS
NVS	(The Deacon.)	

S. Pollion has the crown of martyrdom. All are attired in surplice and stole.

59. SCS MILES. SCS PVMENIVS. Heads and busts, with the jewelled cross between them.

[All the paintings in this catacomb are of the time of the restoration by Hadrian I., A. D. 772.]

VOL. IV.

1. Title-page, with the Constantinian monogram in bronze from the Vatican museum.

2. A bronze lamp in the museum at Florence.
3. Vases in terra-cotta.
4. Marble statue of the Good Shepherd.
5. Bronze lamps.
6. Vases in terra-cotta.
7. Lamps and other objects in terra-cotta.
8. Children's toys.
9. Lamps in terra-cotta.
10. Vases of copper.
11. Various bronze objects.
12. Various objects.
13. Lamps in terra-cotta.
14. Bronze instruments.
15. Lamps in terra-cotta.
16. Antique gems, with Christian emblems.
17. Lamps and other objects in terra-cotta.
18. Glass ampullæ, graffiti in plaster of palm-branches and names.
19. Lamps in terra-cotta.
20. Brick stamps and other objects.
21. Coloured glass vases.
22. Gilt glass vases from the Vatican museum.
- 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. Fragments of gilt glass vases.

VOL. V.

Vol. V. contains inscriptions, figures, and symbols, on jewels or stones.

1 to 38 inclusive.—From the Vatican museum or gallery.

39. — from different churches.

40. A sarcophagus, with shallow sculpture, from the Vatican gallery.

41. Inscriptions from the Vatican depot and from Anagni.

42. Inscriptions and incised figures from the churches of S. Prassede, S. Pudenciana, &c.

43 to 52. — from the Kircherian Museum (chiefly of the fourth and fifth centuries).

53—55. — from the catacomb and church of S. Agnes.

56, 57. — from catacomb of S. Sixtus.

- 58—60. Inscriptions from the cloister of S. Paul's.
- 61—63. —from S. Apollinaris (fourth and fifth centuries).
64. — from the Quirinal (fourth century).
- 65—67. — from Velletri (fourth century and later).
- 68, 69. Inscriptions and incised figures from S. Lorenzo.
- 70, 71. — from S. Maria in Trastevere.
72. — from the Villa Albani.
73. Inscriptions from various places (fourth century and later).
74. — from the crypt of the Vatican (fourth century).
75. — from the Palace Challais.
76. — from Civita Vecchia, S. Calixtus, and S. Mark.
- 77, 78. — from various places.
- VOL. VI. contains the letterpress description of the plates.

It is the fashion in Rome to depreciate this great work of Perret's rather more than it deserves. The drawings are not always accurate; they are the work of young French artists from the Academie, made under the direction of M. Perret, a French architect. The style of drawing is rather more French and theatrical than suits the English taste; but in some instances the outlines were *traced*, and it is the colouring only that is too fresh and gay. There is every reason to believe that the intention of M. Perret, and of the French Government which supported him, was to make his work as accurate as possible, and great allowance should be made for the difficulty of drawing in the Catacombs with the light of wax tapers only. At the time these drawings were made, neither Photography nor Magnesium for light had been discovered. The use of these new inventions is now, in 1870, prohibited by the Cardinal Vicar in the name of the Pope. It is hardly probable that the great work projected by Signor de Rossi, of which the first two volumes only have appeared, can ever be completed. M. Perret's work is therefore likely to remain, for a long time to come, the most complete set of drawings from the Catacombs that we possess; and a careless drawing is better than none at all, especially as there is no occasion to suspect dishonesty, or any intention either to deceive, or to conceal anything.

ENGRAVINGS OF DE ROSSI^a,

“ROMA SOTTERRANEA CRISTIANA.”

VOLUME I.

CATACOMBS OF S. CALIXTUS AND LUCINA.—In vol. i. plate 1, is a representation of the tomb or chapel, of the first century, at the entrance to the catacombs of Lucina and Cornelius, which form part of the great Cemetery of S. Calixtus. This building, the remains of which are of plain early brickwork, stands at the top of the flight of steps leading down into the catacomb, on the bank above the Via Appia.

CRYPT OF S. CORNELIUS IN THE CATACOMB OF S. CALIXTUS.—Paintings of lambs and of birds executed in blue ochre are represented (vol. i. plate 12). Other paintings, of an orante, heads of cherubs, figures of Sixtus II. and Attalus, a bishop, SS. Cornelius and Cyprianus,—all these are chiefly painted in red and brown ochre, in the style of the eighth century (vol. i. plates 6, 7, 11).

A general view of a part of a corridor, shewing the position of the paintings, is also given in plate 5. All these belong to the *restorations* of Hadrian I., A.D. 772.

CRYPT OF CORNELIUS.—A plan and elevation of part of this catacomb is given in plates 2 and 3, remains of paintings (plates 8, 9, 11—14), and a good painted vault, with orantes and a figure (plate 10) closely resembling a Pagan genius. This may be of the fourth century, and not part of the *restoration*.

CRYPT OF LUCINA (IN THE CATACOMB OF S. CALIXTUS).—A series of inscriptions on the slabs of loculi and on sarcophagi found in this catacomb. Some of these are in the Greek characters, which is very frequently the case in Rome in the third and fourth centuries; the fragments of the stone coffins and the remains of sculpture belong to the latter period (vol. i. plates 19—31). A plan and elevation of it is also given (plates 32, 33), and a view of a painted corridor (plate 7) and of a cubiculum, with painted vault (plate 11).

^a Roma, 1864-67, folio, 2 vols.

DE ROSSI—In the second volume :—

Plates 1 and 1a.—Crypt of the Bishops of Rome or Popes (?), in the catacomb of S. Calixtus. The marble columns, with twisted fluting, are of the character of the fourth century.

Plates 2, 3, and 4.—Inscriptions of Damasus, A.D. 367 (?), or of Sixtus III., A.D. 432 (?)^{*}, and in the catacomb of S. Eusebius.

Plate 5.—Cemetery of S. Cecilia, bricks wide-jointed—(modern restoration). Paintings of saints and lantern, or luminary—eighth or ninth century.

Plate 6.—Same cemetery, paintings of Head of Christ, S. Urban, S. Cecilia.

Plate 7.—Figures in outline of SS. Policamus, Sebastianus, Curinus.

Plate 8.—Same cemetery, painting and inscription of Damasus.

Plates 9—13.—Views in cubicula of the same cemetery. Perhaps *some* of these are of the fourth or fifth century; but *some appear* to be painted on plaster, covering brick walls of the eighth century.

Plates 14—17.—Paintings of Jonah, &c., of the usual character.

Plate 18.—Orpheus, on the wall; the Good Shepherd, on the vault; birds, flowers, genii, and a feast.

Plate 19.—Arco-solia, with paintings.

Plate 20.—Paintings of the same, larger; the Good Shepherd, an orante, Daniel, Jonah, birds, flowers.

Plate 21.—Group of figures from the same, one preaching.

Plate 22.—Arco-solium. Painting developed; patterns and festoons of flowers, a figure in a circle, mutilated—third century (?).

Plate 23.—A cubiculum with sarcophagus and painting.

Plates 24, 25.—Paintings developed; Lazarus, birds, flowers, nymphs.

Plate 26.—A view in a cubiculum.

Plates 27, 28.—These paintings are early, probably of the third century; but the subjects are not Christian. They represent a garden, with trellis-work; birds, including peacocks, and with winged genii. The cubiculum on which they occur is called that of the Ocean, from the head of Ocean painted in the centre of the vault.

Plate 29.—Arco-solium, with paintings of the fourth century, or later.

Plate 30.—Graffiti.

Plates 31—50.—Inscriptions of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries.

Plates 51, 52.—Elevations.

Plates 53, 54.—Plans.

Plates 55—58.—Inscriptions.

Plates 59—62.—Plans.

Plates A and B.—Supplementary paintings; the Good Shepherd, Moses, &c.

Plates C and D.—Elevations.

* See Sect. iv.

HISTORICAL PHOTOGRAPHS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CATACOMBS.

[*The numbers refer to Mr. Parker's Catalogue.*]

*Those marked with * are from drawings, valuable for historical purposes,
but not as photographs.*

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>I. CHRONOLOGY (pp. 14 to 24).</p> <p>Early Tombstone with Greek Cross under a round Arch, and Inscription from S. Cyriaca, <i>c.</i> A.D. 300. 442</p> <p>S. Agnes—Inscriptions on Tombstones, built into the wall of the staircase of the Church. 1594, 1595</p> <p>S. Calixtus—Inscriptions of Pope Damasus, 1. over the Altar in the Chapel of the Popes; 2. in the Chapel of S. Eusebius. 1795, 1811</p> <p>II. THE MARTYRS (pp. 25 to 35).</p> <p>In S. Calixtus—Inscriptions on the Tombs of the Bishops or Popes.</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Anteros, A.D. 236. 1797</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Fabianus, A.D. 249. 1798</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">S. Cornelius, A.D. 253. 1799</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Eutychianus, A.D. 283. 1796</p> <p>In S. Agnes. Maximus. 1596</p> <p>In S. Prætextatus. Januarius. 1821</p> <p>III. CHAPELS OF THE MARTYRS
(pp. 36 to 46).</p> <p>S. Sebastian—Section and Plan of the Crypt or Platonía. 483*, 484*</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Ancient Chapels at the Entrance to the Catacomb, <i>c.</i> A.D. 350 (?), and 772. 285, 286, 287, 288</p> | <p>IV. CONSTRUCTION (pp. 38 to 46).</p> <p>A Natural Section of part of the Catacomb of S. Cyriaca, in the burial-ground of S. Lorenzo <i>f. m.</i>, in three parts, shewing an arco-solium, or place for a Sarcophagus, with paintings in the arch, and the junction at an angle of two corridors, with the loculi, or graves in the walls. 1131, 1132, 1133</p> <p>S. Agnes—Cubiculum, with Columns, and place for the Altar. 626</p> <p>S. Prætextatus—A Brick Cornice and Wall of the first century, with another wall of the fourth, of stone and brick, built up against it, and a Brick Arch of the second. 1618, 1619, 1620</p> <p>S. Domitilla—Brickwork of the first century, at the Entrance. 620</p> <p>S. Pontianus—Corridor and Staircase at the entrance, restored A.D. 858—867, by Pope Nicholas. 611</p> <p>S. Cyriaca—Corridor with Loculi. 1282</p> <p>S. Prætextatus—Doorway and Loculi of early character. 1621</p> <p>S. Generosa—Well at the Entrance. 1224</p> |
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V. VIA CORNELIA, AURELIA, AND
PORTUENSIS (pp. 56 to 67).

FRESCO PAINTINGS*.

S. PONTIANUS.

- Head of Christ, A. D. 858—867. 607 A
The same, from Perret's Drawings.
463*, 607 B*
- Baptism of Christ, A. D. 858—867.
608 A
— *from Perret's Drawing.* 608 B*
- Painting of a Jewelled Cross, A. D.
858—867. 609 A
— *from Perret's Drawing.* 609 B*
- Painting of SS. Marcellinus, Pol-
lion, and Petrus, A. D. 858—867. 610 A
— *from Perret's Drawing.* 610 B*
- Christ crowning S. Abdon and S.
Sennen, with figures of S. Milex and
S. Bicelus, A. D. 858—867, *from Per-*
ret's Drawing. 471*
- Jewelled Cross and two Saints,
S. Miles and S. Pymenius, A. D. 858
—867, *from Perret's Drawing.* 474*

S. GENEROSA,

At the College of the Arvales.

- A Loculus or Tomb cut in the rock
and left unopened. The aperture
is covered by three tiles fixed with
plaster, and in the plaster are graffiti
or inscriptions scratched in the plaster
when wet, of the fourth or fifth
century. 1222
- Another Tomb unopened, with the
tiles and graffiti on the plaster. 1223
- Loculi, with the bones remaining
in them, c. A. D. 500. 1183
- Head of Christ from the painting
in fresco, c. A. D. 600. 1159

VI. VIA OSTIENSIS, ARDEATINA,
APPIA, LATINA (pp. 68 to 91).

- S. DOMITILLA—Brickwork, c. A. D. 100,
with a Well and a Vase(?) or Font(?),
called a Baptistery, at the entrance.
This Catacomb is part of the great
one called SS. Nereus and Achilleus.
621
- Well near the entrance. 1819
- Cubiculum, with Fresco Paintings
of the Four Seasons, c. A. D. 250(?),
Spring and Autumn. 618, 619, 1820
- The Adoration of the Magi, A. D.
523, *from Perret's Drawing.*
1613 from nature, 465*
- The Madonna, A. D. 523, *from Per-*
ret's Drawing. 466*

SS. NEREUS AND ACHILLEUS.

- A Christian Sarcophagus, at the en-
trance to the Catacomb. 1815
- Pagan Inscription of Tiberius Clau-
dianus Claudianus, found there. 1817
- Christian Inscription, written on
the reverse of that of Tiberius Clau-
dianus Claudianus, ÆMILIO, etc. 1818
- Tombstone, with Inscription, c. A. D.
320, CERONTI VIBAS IN DEO. 1617
- Loculus, unopened. The aperture
is covered by a tile, on which is
rudely painted an inscription,
IANVARIUS COIVCI FECIT,
with a palm-branch at each end. 1611
- Painted Chamber, A. D. 523. The
ceiling is flat and painted in panels,
with birds and flowers; under the
arch of the cubiculum is a vase with
two birds and two palm-branches.
The flat soffit of the arch is also
painted in panels. 1615

* The Fresco Paintings in the Catacombs are taken with the magnesian light, which has an appearance similar to moonlight. The Cardinal-Vicar, who acts in the name of the Pope, has now (in 1870) forbidden any more to be taken, on the pretext that the smoke from the magnesian lamp might injure

the frescoes. All that was important had been taken before this order was issued. A few of the same subjects have also been taken from Perret's drawings, to shew how much the modern artists have developed and improved upon the originals.

SS. NEREUS, &c., *continued.*

The Good Shepherd. The figure is represented in shepherd's dress, with a lamb on his shoulders, and two sheep at his feet, with flowers in the usual manner. 1616

The Adoration of the Magi. The Madonna is seated, with her right hand uplifted; on her left Christ is represented not as an infant, but as a boy, as at Ravenna, and other Byzantine examples. There are four Magi, two on either side, in order to complete the picture and fill the space under the arch of a cubiculum. The Magi wear the Phrygian cap, and have offerings in their hands. 1613

A Feast or Agape. This may represent the Last Supper, as is usual, but it appears more like a family feast; some of the heads appear to be those of mere boys. It is under the arch of a cubiculum. 1614

The head of a youth, in a circular frame, probably a portrait of the defunct. 1609

An Orante, with a sheep. 1816

A group of figures, to whom one is preaching. 1612

S. PRÆTEXTATUS.

Plan and Section of a Corridor. 744

Brickwork and Doorway at the Original Entrance, *c.* A.D. 100. 616

Fragment of a Sarcophagus with Bas-relief, and Painted Vault of Chapel, *c.* A.D. 200. 614

The Cultivation of the Vine. 1822

THE Gnostics (?), or Worshippers of the Persian God MITHRAS.

Fresco Paintings, 1. a Warrior kneeling, and a woman crowned with laurel, and of a Man raising a dead Lamb and pointing to some Stars in the Heaven; 2. Seven priests of Mithras seated at a table (SEPTUAGINTA SACERDOTES). In the centre is the priest VINCENTIVS. He and two others wear the Phrygian cap. This

THE Gnostics, *continued.*

Catacomb was in communication with that of Prætextatus on the Via Appia. 1791, 1794

Arch, with an Inscription over a Cubiculum (not now legible). 1623

A Warrior holding a lance, between a Genius and a Man. 1792

Four figures engaged in some ceremonial (very indistinct), fourth century (?) or later(?). 1281

Fresco. The good angel introducing a woman, called VIBIA, to several persons. Over them is written INDUCTIO VIBIÆ. Under the Arch are six figures, with Vibia in the centre, and over their heads the inscription BONORUM IVDICIO IVDICATI. 1793

S. CALIXTUS.

The Cover of the largest marble Sarcophagus discovered in the Catacombs, said to be that of Pope Zephyrinus, A.D. 218. 1810

Sarcophagus, the sculpture representing Genii, the Resurrection of Lazarus, and Daniel in the Lions' Den. 1807

Fresco Paintings of the Seasons, in a Cubiculum. 1808, 1809

Chapel of the Sacraments. A *fossor*, or grave-digger, Abraham and Isaac in attitudes of prayer, a ram, and a bundle of firewood. 1806

A figure seated holding a scroll, and another figure drawing water from a well, said to be Christ and the woman of Samaria. 1801

History of Jonah, 1. coming out of the mouth of the sea-serpent (or whale); 2. thrown by the sailors into the sea. 1802, 1803

Seven figures upon a tricliniar bed. There are two dishes with fish, and eight baskets loaded with bread. 1804

A *fossor*, or grave-digger. In another part of the picture a small table, or tripod, upon which is a dish with fish and bread. A man, Christ,

S. CALIXTUS, *continued.*

after the Resurrection (?), extends the right hand over the fish, and on the other side is a female figure in the attitude of prayer. The Church (?).

1805

An Orante said to be S. Cæcilia (ninth century), of our Saviour and of S. Urban, Pope, with the Inscription SCS VRBANVS.

1800

Figures of S. Cornelius, Pope and Martyr, S. Xystus II., Pope (SCS XYSTVS PP ROM), and of S. Optatus, Bishop.

1813, 1814

VII. VIA LABICANA, NOMENTANA, TIBURTINA.

SS. PETER AND MARCELLINUS.

The Adoration of the Magi, A.D. 772—775, *from Perret's Drawing.* 627c*

Adoration of the Magi. Two of the Magi only are shewn, there not being room for more.

2116

An Agape or Commemorative Love Feast, with the names over the heads of the figures.

2117

An Agape with this inscription, AGAPE. MISER NOBIS. There are two children at the table.

2118

Christ seated between two Apostles (?), standing and addressing Him. He has the nimbus, they have not; their dress resembles the surplice and stole. At the foot is the Holy Lamb standing on Calvary, with other Apostles (?).

2119

A female Orante, with two members of her family, A.D. 772(?).

2115

S. AGNES.

Paintings of an Orante, with the Good Shepherd, A.D. 772—775.

628

The Blessed Virgin and Child, A.D. 772—775.

627A*

— *from Perret's Drawing.* 627B*

S. CYRIACA.

A female Saint, richly attired and crowned, A.D. 772—795, *from Perret's Drawing.*

468*

S. CYRIACA, *continued.*

Madonna, and S. Catharine, c. A.D. 772—795, *from Perret's Drawing* 479*

Figure of S. Cæcilia, A.D. 772—795, *from Perret's Drawing.* 472*

Three Loculi, closed with Tiles: 1. With Stamp and small Vase; 2. With Skeleton and Palm-branches; 3. With Inscription, the Labarum of Constantine, an Anchor, a Dove with Palm-branch, *from Perret's Drawing.*

481*

A Painted Vault, *from Perret's Drawing.*

482*

Tombstone of ANTONIA CYRIACE, with a dove and olive-branch on each side of the name, c. A.D. 250, taken from this Catacomb and built into the wall of the Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro.

1257

Three Skulls, and a brick stamp found with them, with inscription—OF(ficina) s(exti) DOMI(tii) SATVRNINI [A.D. 264?].

1283

S. HERMES.

Fragment of Mosaic Picture representing Daniel in the Lions' Den, A.D. 577, the only Mosaic Picture now remaining in the Catacombs.

629

VIII. VIA SALARIA VECCHIA, AND NOVA (pp. 108 to 118).

SS. SATURNINUS AND THRASON—Paintings in the lowest story, of the time of Pope Hadrian I., A.D. 772—795.

1751

Three Loculi, with Paintings of Jonah, Moses striking the Rock, bird with foliage, and two female Orantes, *from Perret's Drawing.*

467*

An Orante, a lady richly attired, with lace borders and a veil, A.D. 772—795.

1774

— *from Perret's Drawing.* 475*

Another Orante, A.D. 772—795.

1775

— *from Perret's Drawing.* 476*

SS. SATURNINUS, &c., *continued.*

Head of the defunct, with a Bird and Flowers, A.D. 772. 1752

Jonah under the ivy-bush (according to the Vulgate version, the gourd in the English version), A.D. 772—795. 1777

Moses striking the rock, A.D. 772—795. 1776

The Good Shepherd, and a Figure holding a Scroll or Book, with the inscription, DORMITIO [Silvestri (?)]. 1778

— *from Perret's Drawing.* 480*

Tobias presenting a Fish to his Father. 1779

An Orante, with an Ordination (?) on the right, and a Madonna on the left, *from Perret's Drawing.* 469*

S. PRISCILLA.

The Madonna addressed by a Prophet, who is expounding the Scriptures to her, with the Star of Bethlehem (?) above, A.D. 523. 1467

— *from Perret's Drawing.* 470*

Painted Chapel, restored by John I., A.D. 523. 612

Stucco Ornament in a Chapel. 613

The three youths in the "burning fiery furnace," and Orantes, c. A.D. 523. 1468, 1471

Painting of an Orante or female figure erect, in the Oriental attitude of prayer. On her left hand a Madonna (?) or mother and child, on her right hand three figures, one seated, the others standing. The interpretation given to this group is an ordination. *Other interpretations are given to this picture.* Also a graffito of the name of BOSIVS. 1470

An Orante addressed by two persons standing and pointing on her left hand, with another figure standing, wrapt up in a tunic, on her

S. PRISCILLA, *continued.*

right. (Allegorical interpretations are given to this group.) 1472

Seven men carrying a wine-cask, c. A.D. 523, with graffiti of the names of ANTONIVS BOSIVS, ORATIVS DE NOBILIBVS, &c., and a tombstone with the inscription — BONAVIÆ COIVGI SANCTISSIMÆ. 1469

Graffiti. 1473

Two Loculi, unopened, with letters painted on the Tiles, which cover the openings. 1474

A Peacock, with tail expanded and Diaper Ornaments, A.D. 523, *from Perret's Drawing.* 477*

A Peacock, side view, A.D. 523, *from Perret's Drawing.* 478*

IX. CATACOMB OF THE JEWS ON THE VIA APPIA. (p. 119).

Part of the Place for Washing the Bodies at the entrance, with Arcosolia or Arched Tombs partly rebuilt in the fourth century. 1753

Staircase at the exit. 1754

A Painted Cubiculum, c. A.D. 150, *taken with the magnesian light.* 773

Painting of Birds, A.D. 150, in the same chamber. 562

The same, from a Drawing by Ewing. 1161*

View in a painted Burial-vault, *taken with the magnesian light.* 774

The same, from a Drawing by Ewing. 1160*

Pegasus, a Painting on the Wall, c. A.D. 150. 775

A Peacock, A.D. 150. 561

Fragment of a Pagan Sarcophagus, A.D. 150. 563

Inscriptions, with Emblems. 776

XI. CATACOMBS OF NAPLES (pp. 126—129).

Views of the Ospizio de' Poveri di S. Gennaro.	2143, 2144	presenting two Saints, and a lily between them.	2149
Construction under the Portico of the Ospizio de' Poveri di S. Gennaro, at the entrance to the Catacombs, with very bold corbelling.	2145	Fresco Painting in the Catacombs, representing a peacock, vases, and flowers.	2150
General View of the entrance to the Catacombs, with Frescoes on the walls.	2146	Fresco Painting in a niche on the right-hand side of the entrance to the Catacombs.	2151
General View of the entrance to the Catacombs.	2147	Column, with Inscription, in the Catacombs.	2152
Fresco Paintings in the Catacombs, representing SS. Desiderius and Agutius, eighth century (?).	2148	Chair of S. Gennaro, cut in the Tufa rock of the Catacombs.	2153
Fresco Paintings in the Catacombs, re-		<i>Those within the Catacombs are taken with the magnesian light.</i>	

XII. CHURCHES OUTSIDE THE WALLS.

S. PAUL'S (pp. 130 to 134).

View of the Interior before the fire.	456*
——— after the fire, in 1823, shewing the parts that were left standing.	
<i>These two are from scarce Engravings.</i>	623*

View of the Cloister, thirteenth century; exterior, with Cosmati work and Inscription.	2020
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——— Interior, with light shining through the Arcade.	2019
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Paschal Candlestick ornamented with rich Sculpture.	2018
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Altar Canopy or Baldachino, details of Frescoes in the Cloister.	2024 to 2030
Inscriptions.	1985 to 2030
Mosaic Pictures.	2031 to 2037

S. SEBASTIAN'S (pp. 138 to 141).

Exterior of Apse, c. A.D. 350 (?).	289
Plan of Church and Monastery, with the Chapels at the entrance to the Catacomb.	819*, 341*

Views of the Ancient Chapels at the Entrance to the Catacombs, c. A.D. 350(?), and 772; and a Porticus.	285, 288
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S. URBAN'S (pp. 142 to 144).

Altar of Bacchus found there.	1365
The Classical Portico, c. A.D. 50, filled up with modern brickwork.	1590
Exterior View behind the Altar, with fine brick cornice.	1364

S. HELENA OR S. PETER AND MARCELLINUS (p. 145).

Plan.	206*
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S. AGNES (pp. 146 to 148).

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The Gallery or Triforium, and the Clerestory, with the Ceiling and the Fresco over the Arch.	1592
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SECOND APPENDIX TO THE CHAPTER ON THE CATACOMBS.

SINCE this Chapter was printed, and whilst waiting for the Photo-engravings to illustrate it and confirm the views there stated, some important fresh excavations have been made, of which an account ought to be given in this work. They have been made and are carrying on for the Ecclesiastical Commission of the Pontifical Government, under the direction of G. B. De Rossi. They are at the entrance to the catacomb of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, and what has been found is the lower part of a church of the Basilican type. The two brothers De Rossi have just published an excellent account of it in the *Bulletino di Archeologia Christiana*^a. They shew that these are the remains of the church of S. Petronilla, just as it was left after it had been destroyed some centuries ago^b. It must have been a fine church, similar to that of S. Agnes, at the entrance to the catacomb named after her, with a grand flight of steps down into it in the same manner, but finer, as it goes down in a straight line at the end of the church opposite to the altar, and has the bases and lower parts of columns of a grand colonnade over the steps. The church consisted of a nave, with an aisle on each side; the bases of the columns remain between the nave and the aisles; behind the altar is an apse, at the further end of which, on the lower story or in the crypt, is an opening to one end of a corridor or street of the catacombs. This has also been the case at S. Generosa, though not there left visible as it is here. In the present instance everything is left in its place as found, the old Pontifical system of carrying everything off to museums, which deprived them of half their interest, seems at last to be abandoned, more confidence is now placed in the honesty of the keepers and in the vigilance of the police. Under the altar are two brick tombs, the places for the sarcophagi containing the relics of the martyrs. The walls are entirely of brick, the character of which is of the fifth or sixth century. Many brick-stamps have been found in the walls, which will give the exact date. Several inscriptions have also been found, and are published by De Rossi; but as the church has evidently been *made in the catacombs*, and is not part of

^a Vol. v. Nos. 1 and 2, Roma, 1874. 19 wide.
In the second number an excellent plan and view of the ruins are given.

^b M. S. De Rossi considers that it was evidently destroyed by an earthquake.

the same original construction, they cannot decide the date of the church. There is another entrance to the catacomb close by, the brickwork of which is of the first century, similar to that of Prætextatus, and as in that instance, they are probably family burial-places for a great family, without any reference to religion.

On the vault of the passage from the entrance into the catacomb is a fresco-painting of the vine, but it does not at all follow that the painting is contemporary with the brickwork; there is also a vine painted just within the entrance to that of Prætextatus, and it is quite possible that those two families *may have been* among the early Christians, and have intended the vine as an emblem intelligible to other Christians, by reminding them of the text, "I am the vine, ye are the branches," and not intelligible to the heathen. What gives probability to this is, that the sarcophagus of Constantia and the vaults of the aisles of her mausoleum are covered with the vine, and these probably were the work of heathen workmen; the Christians were not permitted to make any display of their religion until the time of Constantine.

According to the legends of the church, Flavia Domitilla was the niece of Domitian, and had property on the Via Ardeatina, at a mile and half from Rome; she was a Christian, and allowed the bodies of the martyrs Nereus and Achilleus and Petronilla to be buried under her freehold farm (*prædium*), that is, in her family burial-place; and a church dedicated to S. Petronilla was afterwards built at the entrance to it, probably over the original burial-chapel, which we find at the entrance of each of the catacombs in the early ages of the Christian Church. That of SS. Nereus and Achilleus is described as being "at S. Petronilla, on the Via Ardeatina."

One of the *loculi* (or graves cut in the rock) was found closed by a slab of marble, on which was engraved in good letters VAL RVFINA. Upon a large stone which closed an arch built under the pavement of a street in the catacomb, at the entrance to another burial-vault, was found in 1854 an inscription recording the purchase of that ground for the family of AURELIUS VICTORINUS:—

VII CALENDAS FEBR(v)AR(i)AS EGO AVR(*elius*) CONSTANTIVS
SCRIPSI PRO AVR(*elio*) BICTVRINV (*viatorino*) EVM VEN-
-DI-DISSE LOCVM QVEM EMIT AVR(*elius*) LAVR(*entius*)

From this it is inferred by De Rossi that the name of the martyr was *Aurelia* Petronilla, and that she belonged to the *Gens Aurelia*.

This property has recently been bought, with a large district, by Monsignor De Merode, and the excavations are carried on with his approbation, and probably at his expense, as these Commissions in

Rome usually have no funds^c. The earliest historical notice that we have of this cemetery is that it was made by John I., A.D. 523—526, at the time that Rome was under the jurisdiction of King Theodoric of Ravenna. But the word *fecit* is given in another manuscript as *refecit* (restored), which seems more probable^d. Gregory the Great is also said to have delivered one of his celebrated Homilies here, which could only have been in the church, not in the catacomb. This name does *not* occur among the *tituli* of the clergy who attended the Roman Synod, A.D. 499, early in the reign of Theodoric, which would seem to imply, on the other hand, that the church was not built until after that time. Gregory III., A.D. 731—742 (Anastas., 202), instituted or appointed an annual *station* to be held in the *cemetery* of S. Petronilla, and presented it a corona (*lucis*) of gold, a chalice and paten of silver, and various ornaments *pertaining to a church*^e, which could not mean a catacomb-chapel only. It is probable that the church was then built over the original burial-chapel, of which the remains are shewn in De Rossi's plan as existing under the church. Leo IV., A.D. 847—855, made similar donations to this church. (Anastas., 541.)

Of another inscription only a fragment remains, with the latter half of two words, . . . RVM. . . ORVM. By his long experience De Rossi is enabled to supply the rest, *Sepulcrvm Flaviorvm*. This probably applies only to one of the original family burial-vaults, which is one meaning of the word *cemetery*, now called *catacomb*. Another inscription says that *M. Antonius Restitutus*—

FECIT YPOGEVM . SIBI . ET . SVIS . FIDENTIBVS . IN . DOMINO .

Obviously, again, a family burial-vault, and almost certainly a Pagan one, as the name of Ypogeum is not the one used by the Christian writers. Another fragment gives some letters of one of the long metrical inscriptions of Damasus, in the beautiful letters of his time, which is given in full by De Rossi, and he cites four distinct copies of it from ancient manuscripts:—

Militiæ nomen dederant sævum Q. gerebant^f
 Officium pariter spectantes JUSSA TYRANNI
 Præceptis pulsante metu SERVIRE PARATI
 Mira fides rerum subito POSUERE FVROREM
 Conversi fugiunt ducis impia castra RELINQVUNT
 Proiciunt clypeos faleras telaQ. CRVENTA

^c Since this was written the Roman Catholic Church has sustained a great loss by the death of this excellent person, who had made a large fortune, and began to expend it for Church objects.

^d Anastasius, 89.

^e Ibid., 202.

^f Tre codici sævumque, uno solo *almunque*.

Confessi gaudent Christi portare TRIVMFOS
 Credite per Damasum possit quid GLORIA CHRISTI §.

Another tombstone of BEATVS and VINCENTIA has the names of the Consuls, which gives the date of A.D. 395, but this does not give the *date of the church*. Nobody doubts that the catacomb is an early one. Leo III., A.D. 795—816, is recorded to have restored the church of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, which had been damaged by a great flood. This has hitherto been supposed to apply to the church within the walls of Rome, on the Via Appia, opposite to S. Sisto Vecchio, which was equally surrounded by water in the great flood in 1871, so that it may apply to either. As that pope is said to have rebuilt the church from the foundations, and no work of his time has been brought to light by the recent excavations at this cemetery, whereas part of the walls of the church on the Via Appia may very well be of his time, the old interpretation of the passage seems more likely to be the correct one. The donations given to it at the same time were, "Six canisters of silver, weighing 15 lbs. ; a ciborium of pure silver, weighing 215 lbs. ; a chalice and paten of silver-gilt, weighing 12 lbs. 10 oz. ; a royal super-altar of pure gold, ornamented with precious stones, weighing 2 lb. 6 oz., and two vestments, one an alb of silk with the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ worked upon it, the other of Tyrian purple." These seem more suitable for a church in the city than for one in the country.

The excavations have also brought to light some fresco paintings of the fifth (?) century, and some *graffiti* (or names scratched upon the walls). This was one of the places of pilgrimage mentioned by William of Malmesbury as frequented by the English, under the name of "Nereus and Achilleus, and Petronilla, and several others." Eusebius also mentions that the church of S. Paul was "the entrance to the martyrs," which probably means that there was a subterranean road or deep cutting from that church to S. Sebastian's. This would be on the line of the road now called the "Via delle Sette Chiese," or road of the Seven Churches, used by the pilgrims in the pilgrimages of the Middle Ages, (recently revived,) to the seven great Basilicas. The pilgrimages began at (1) S. Paul's, then went through this deep cutting, passing by S. Petronilla to (2) S. Sebastian's, then to (3) S. Lorenzo and (4) S. Agnes, all without the walls; then entering the City to (5) S. Croce in Gerusalemme, (6) S. John in the Lateran, (7) S. Maria Maggiore, and crossing the Tiber to S. Peter's in the Vatican. The same line was followed by the American pilgrims in 1874, but in carriages instead of walking barefoot, as was the custom in the Middle Ages.

§ *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana* Rossi. Seconda Serie. Anno Quinto.
 del Commendatore Giovanni Battista de Roma 1874, (p. 20).

THE AGAPÆ OR LOVE FEASTS (?).

The Bishop of Limerick, who has fortunately been in Rome during the month of April, 1874, and has taken much interest in the Catacombs, has kindly favoured me with the following important suggestions respecting the paintings of feasts, so frequently found in them^h. These are usually interpreted either as the Last Supper of our Lord upon earth, or the Agape or Love Feast of the early Christians. The Bishop, on the contrary, is of opinion that some of them, at least, represent the heavenly banquet of the blest, the marriage supper spoken of in the Gospels and the Book of Revelation. I am myself inclined to believe that these paintings merely represent the commemorative feasts on the anniversary of the death of the heads of the family, usual among the ancient Romans. It is still the custom of the Romans to assemble at the grave of the deceased members of the family on the anniversary of their death, and to have a family feast on the same occasion. This shews that Christianity did not interfere with this ancient and reverend custom.

“The Photograph of the picture No. 2117, in Mr. Parker’s Catalogue of Photographs, represents three men seated at a crescent-shaped couch-table (*mensa lunata*, or *sigma*). In front of it is a small round tripod table, on which lies a large fish (*thynnus?*), surrounded by what appear to be eels. At each end of the lunette table sits a female attendant. Between one of them and the tripod a tall crater stands on the floor. Between the other attendant and the tripod stands a boy holding a *cyathus* or *poculum* of some kind. The lower parts of the last-named figures are effaced. The two men, who sit to the right and left respectively of the central figure, are each reaching out their right hands, as if they were addressing the female attendants opposite to them. Over the head of the man sitting at the right-hand of the central figure are the words IRENE . DA . CALDA. Over the one at his left are the words AGAPE . MISCE . MI. This phrase is obviously addressed to the girl who sits close to the crater. The boy appears to be handing a *poculum* to the guest who asks for CALDA. In the upper margin of the panel are the names VOLSCVS, RVFEVS, POMPONIVS, FABIVS; and immediately

^h Any one who knows Ireland and its interesting antiquities, will know also the long-established reputation of Dr. Graves, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, now Bishop of Lime-

rick, and will know also that he is not one to arrive at a hasty conclusion, or to make a bold conjecture only; he carefully investigates what he states.

under them, in somewhat smaller and more carefully written characters, the name FABIANVS. In the left-hand margin of the panel are the letters VA, which, along with LETE, exactly opposite them in the right-hand margin, make up the word VALETE. At the left-hand corner of the bottom margin, though some of the letters are very faint, I think I can make out IN AGR PED X . . .¹

"The picture shewn in the photograph, No. 2118, represents a similar scene. Three men are seated at a lunette couch-table, the centre figure having a little boy at each side of him. At each end of the lunette table sits, or stands, a female attendant. The one to the left of the picture is holding out a *poculum*. The man who is opposite to her addresses her in the words IRENE . PORGE . CALDA, which are written over him; whilst the man on the other side of the central figure (though it must be admitted that he is not looking towards her), seems to be addressing the other female attendant in the words AGAPE . MISCE . NOBIS. Each of the men leans, as he ought to do, with his left elbow upon the couch-table. A small round table stands in the centre. The lower part of the picture being defaced, we cannot say with certainty whether it was a tripod or not, or determine what was served upon it. It was probably like the table represented in 2117.

"In the fourth volume of the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, which contains the inscriptions and graffiti of Pompeii, at No. 1291, we meet with a notice of a picture which illustrates those now under consideration. It represents a soldier, who holds out a glass to a servant who is waiting upon him, and addresses him in the words DA FRIDAM (FRIGIDAM) PVSILLVM, written as a graffito on the picture. He is asking for a little cold water.

"No one can well question the appropriateness of the phrases MISCE . MI, MISCE . NOBIS, DA . CALDA, and PORGE CALDA, as addressed to an attendant waiting upon persons at an entertainment. The Romans were not in the habit of drinking their wine undiluted, and the attendant was said *miscere alicui*. We have an instance of *mi* for *mihi* in Virgil, *Æn.* x. 104; and others in Lucilius and Plautus. *Porge*, as Festus tells us, was the old form for *Porrige*; and Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 274, has *pocula porgite*. In fact, *porgere* seems to have been the word most correctly used with reference to the

¹ The engraving of this fresco given by Bottari, tav. cxxvii., though executed more than a hundred years ago, when the painting was in a much more perfect state of preservation, is so inaccurate that it has misled those who

have copied and commented on it. Not to mention errors in smaller matters of detail, it represents the central figure as a female, and for the fish on the table substitutes some kind of quadruped served whole.

handing of wine or anything that was to be drunk. Cicero uses the phrase *porgens carchesia*; Horace, *porrecta pocula*; and Apuleius, *porrigit bibam*. *Calda* is put for *caldam* (*aquam*), the final *m* being omitted, as was not unusual. Perhaps this was a phonetic spelling; at all events, the omission is common enough in inscriptions. Thus we have *Septima sit tibi terra levis*. *Quisquis huic tumulo posuit ardentem lucernam illius cineres aurea terra tegat.*, (Gruter, 1148. 17); *Pietate redere* for *pietatem reddere*, (Orell. 5058); *post eam uxorem non habiturum*, (Orell. 4603). *Calda* was used absolutely for *calda aqua*; thus we have in Pliny, *cum pari caldæ mensura*, and the servant who supplied hot water was called *servus a calda*. It is possible, however, that *calda* may be the accusative plural of *caldum*, which was used substantively in the sense of a hot drink made by mixing wine with hot water. In sepulchral inscriptions *AVE* or *HAVE*, *VALE*, *AVETE*, *VALETE*, frequently occur in addresses to the departed. There may be some doubt as to the reading of the words *IN AGR PED X . . .* If they are rightly deciphered, they indicate one admeasurement, that is, the depth of the space belonging to a family, and available for the purposes of burial. The other dimension, that of the frontage, may have been stated in the right-hand corner of the margin, but that part of the panel has been completely defaced. As regards the names of the female attendants, *Agape* and *Irene*, they are of frequent occurrence in the early Christian inscriptions. *Irene* appears in De Rossi, Tav. xliii., and *Agape* in Tav. lv.

“The similarity in all their details between these two pictures, and others which are the work of pagan artists, or intended to represent pagan scenes, is very remarkable. There is in the Lateran collection a sarcophagus representing a lady lying on a couch, with a tripod-table before her, and on it is a large fish. The character of the sculpture, and the inscription which this monument bears, prove it undoubtedly to be pagan. Again, in a picture in the Vatican Manuscript of Virgil, Dido is seen seated between Æneas and Ascanius, with a small round table before them, on which there is a single dish containing a fish. In that part of the catacomb of Prætextatus which was assigned to the worshippers of Mithra, there are paintings and inscriptions having relation to pagan superstitions. One of these represents seven persons, designated as *Septem Pii Sacerdotes*, seated at a sigma couch, with dishes before them, on which are served a fowl, a hare, a pasty, and a fish. Another picture of the same series represents six persons seated at a sigma table, whilst a seventh is coming in. Before them are set three dishes containing fowl, pasty, and fish. At the side stands a crater resting on a tripod. In the Annals of the German Archæological Institute of Rome, 1866, p. 320, mention is made of a picture found in a pagan tomb at Ostia. It represents five persons seated at a lunette couch-table, apparently partaking of a banquet. The name of each of the persons is written over his head. Though

those pictures belong to a different school of art and thought, they are, to say the least, analogous to the fresco paintings in the catacomb of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, which we are considering. The four fresco paintings in the catacomb of S. Calixtus, figured by De Rossi, Plates XIV., XV., XVI., are generally supposed to refer either to the miracles wrought by our Lord in feeding the multitudes, or to the incidents which followed the miraculous draught of fishes recorded by S. John (chap. xxi. 1—14); and having this primary scope, they may also be regarded as having a reference to the Eucharist. The first of these represents seven persons seated at a couch-table, having before them three dishes, on two of which are fish. In the front of the picture are twelve baskets of bread. In another we have a tripod-table, with a fish upon it, with seven baskets of bread in front. In a third we have seven nude figures, with two dishes before them, with a fish on each. His sixteenth plate represents another group of seven persons seated at a table, and served with two dishes of fish. In the front of the picture are eight baskets of bread.

“Some doubt may be entertained as to the interpretation of these pictures. But it seems to me quite obvious that the fresco paintings described above, No. 2117 and 2118 in Mr. Parker’s Catalogue, are not designed to represent eucharistic celebrations or *agapæ*. The following are my reasons for coming to this conclusion:—1. There is an *à priori* objection to such a view. Pictures in the Catacombs ought to have had a distinctly religious use. They ought to have been calculated to sustain the hopes of men living in a state of trial, if not of actual persecution. The picture of an *agape* would not have served this purpose. The reality of these love-feasts was familiar enough to the Christians who worshipped in the Catacombs, and the force of this consideration is strengthened when we come to remember that these entertainments, which were sometimes characterized by a want of order even in the apostolic times, were afterwards so discredited by disorder and excess that the holding of them came to be forbidden. 2. The persons seated at the table are the departed, to whom their surviving relations and friends address the greeting VALETE. 3. The persons ministering are females. 4. Their names *Agape* and *Irene*, though no doubt proper names in common use amongst Christians, are more fitly used to indicate the personification of the spirit of Christian love, and of the peace of God ministering to the happiness of the blest. 5. Christians in the early ages were accustomed to see on sarcophagi sculptures representing the departed spirits of Pagans enjoying the pleasures of Elysium.

“The symbolic meaning of the fish has been too much insisted on by those who have described and commented on these pictures. In many cases, but not in all, did it represent the Divine Person. The fish, in the symbolism of painters and sculptors, had a different meaning: it denoted the goodness of the viands provided at a banquet. Horace contrasts the most sumptuous and the most frugal fare in the line:—

‘Seu pisces seu porrum et cæpe trucidas.’”

S. PRISCILLA^a.

THIS catacomb has the largest number of paintings, and the earliest of any. The present entrance is a straight vaulted passage from the Via Salaria, partly underground; the original entrance was by a flight of steps from the vineyard above. The modern entrance was made in 1865, probably because the proprietor of the vineyard would not allow a right of way. The celebrated CAPELLA GRÆCA is just at the foot of the original steps, and near to the present entrance. It is a small chapel, in the plan of a Greek cross +, with paintings on the walls on either side of the choir, for the most part well preserved, and very interesting; the proper explanation of them is matter of endless controversy, some give a *very* early date to them, but the drawing does not bear out any such early date, if compared with the frescoes in the tombs on the Via Latina, of which the date is ascertained by the brick-stamps to be of the second and third centuries; the inferiority of the art is very apparent, nor are they all of one period. Some of the paintings in this cemetery are probably of the sixth century, and others of the eighth and ninth. The three children "in the burning fiery furnace" belong to the latter period; the remainder are earlier, and appear rather to relate some family history than any historical or religious subjects. In the earlier pictures, the same three figures occur in all, and they seem to relate the history of the same person, first as a girl, then as a young mother with a baby in her arms, then one advanced in life, as the mother of a family of grown-up children. Allegorical meanings may be given to any extent to these pictures, as nothing is really known of the history of the Priscilla whose tomb this was, and there are no means of testing the truth. Close adjoining to this chamber, or vault, is another, in which is the place for a sarcophagus, supposed to have been used for an altar to a chapel, as there is a step at one end to a platform behind it for a priest to stand upon and officiate *over* the body of the martyr there interred. The walls have remains of the marble casing, shewing that it was the chapel of a wealthy family. In other parts of this cemetery, and in other vaults, are represented the two wine-casks, and four men are seen carrying a third. To these also various allegorical meanings are given, but the probability is, that it was the burial-place of the wife of a wine-merchant, or wine-maker, perhaps the owner of the vineyard above, whose death took place at the time of the

^a See p. 114, and Plates V., VI., XXIV.

vintage, and this event was commemorated by the family in their burial-place. The inscription, which was under the picture when this photograph was taken, has since been removed by the Pontifical authorities, it agrees with this interpretation :—

BONAVIAE CONJUGI SANCTISSIMAE.

In another *cubiculum* is the much-disputed painting of the Madonna (?) addressed by the prophet (?). This is a small group of figures, not more than two feet square, on a flat surface on the ceiling of an *arco-solium*, under which is a sarcophagus, and on the back wall are remains of a Good Shepherd with the sheep. In another *cubiculum* is the Good Shepherd on the vault ; in his arms he carries a goat and a sheep, and another goat is at his feet, and also a sheep. In this chamber the paintings are evidently of two periods, probably of the sixth and eighth centuries.

S. NEREUS, S. PETRONILLA^b, &c.

In the spring of 1875, the excavations in the Basilica of S. Petronilla, and in the Catacomb of S. Nereus adjoining to it, were continued, and in a small *cubiculum* at the back of the apse of the church, a painting was found of two female figures, in the style of painting of the sixth century, under the arch of an *arco-solium* at the back of the small burial-vault, with inscriptions on the sides of the figures.

B. VENERANDA FELICITA IN PACE
PETRONILLA MART.

In the centre of the church a small marble column has also been found, with figures carved upon it in *alto relievo*, representing the martyrdom of S. Achilleus, with the name inscribed. This is also in the style of the sixth century. Another fragment of a marble column has also been found, which probably had the martyrdom of S. Nereus carved upon it. There are a number of sarcophagi in the floor of the church, left just as they were found, half above and half below the pavement. The walls of the church were being rebuilt in 1876, and a new roof was to be put on, to preserve everything as it was found. It is expected to be used for worship again.

^b See p. 70, and Plates XXII., XXIII.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

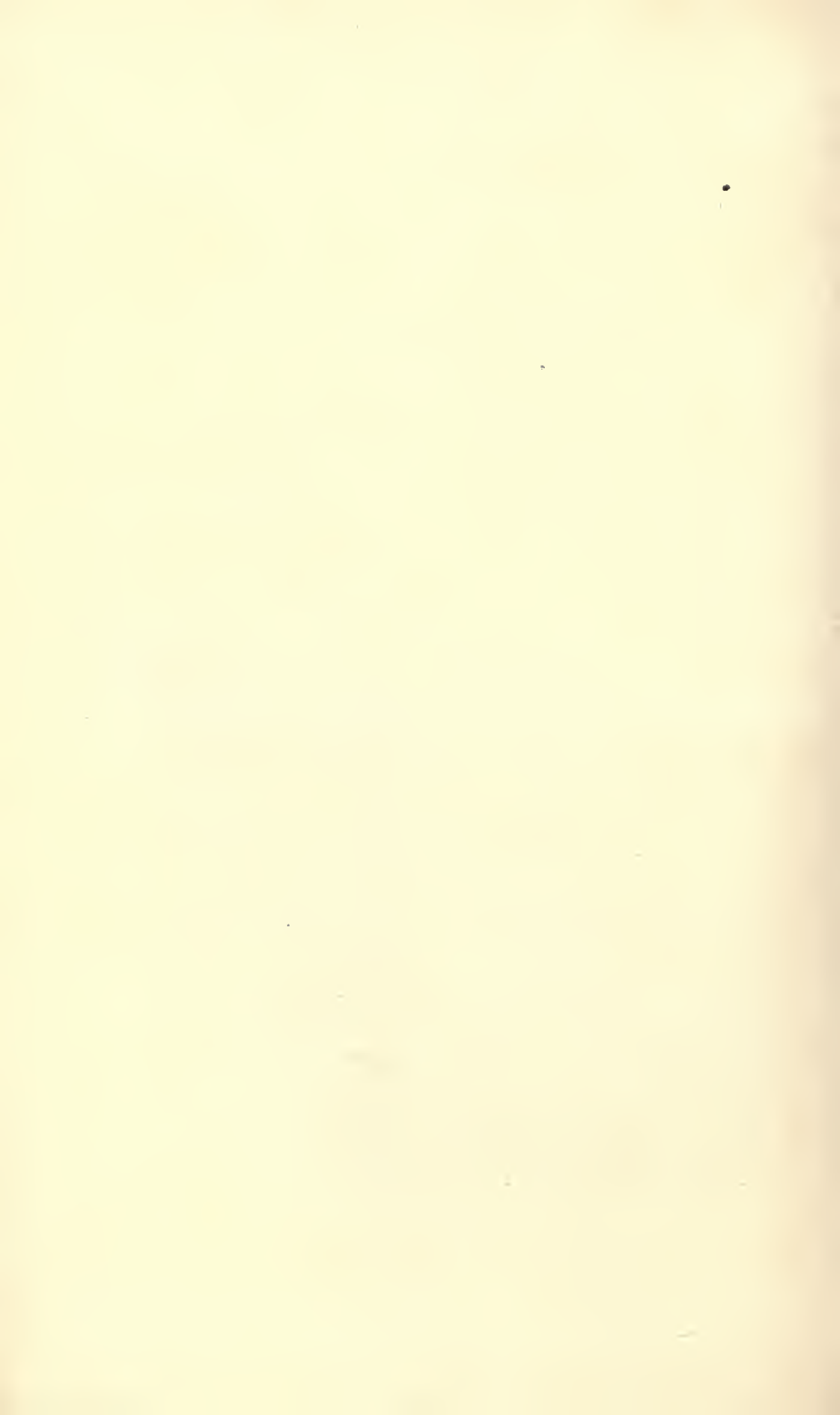
THE CATACOMBS.

Errata.

- p.* 2, *l.* 32. It has only been discontinued since the year 1860.
- p.* 3, *note f.* et a liberalibus.
- p.* 9, *l.* 6. to the gate only.
- p.* 22, *note g.* exterminatæ.
- p.* 34, *note p.* PP SCL.
- Ibid.* SIBI.
- Ibid.*, *note q.* EMIT.
- p.* 37, *note a.* HYGIAE . C.
- Ibid.* XSS.
- p.* 63, *note g.* de' gemme.
- p.* 85, *note b.* "Tre sepolcri," &c.
- Ibid.* del Perso dio.
- Ibid.*, *note c.* Correspondenza.
- p.* 104, *note o.* marcuerant.
- p.* 108, *note x.* in aquilino.
- p.* 113, *note e.* de Esquileo.
- p.* 123, *l.* 3. but they are no longer used.
- p.* 131. MEMO.
- p.* 154, *note z.* RECISA.
- p.* 159, *note g.* porticum, qui.
- p.* 162, *line* 18. Index Cœmeterium.
- p.* 171, *note s.* antesignatum.

Corrigenda.

- It is still continued, in 1877, in the great burial-ground at S. Lorenzo *f. m.*
- et liberalibus.
- to the parish church only.
- exterminata.
- PP SVI
- SIBI.
- EMIT.
- D. M.—HYGIA . FEC.
- HSS.
- di gemme.
- This work is not by Padre Marchi, but by Padre Garrucci.
- del Persidico dio.
- Corrispondenza.
- marcuerat.
- in aquilonari.
- de Esquilino.
- and they are still in use.
- MENS.
- RECISO.
- porticum, quæ.
- Index Cœmeteriorum.
- antsignenum.



THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

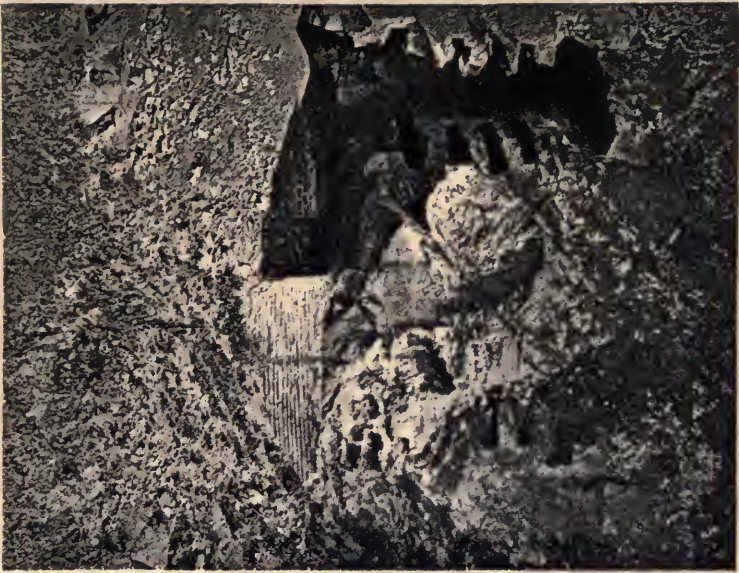
THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE I:

CONSTRUCTION.—NATURAL SECTIONS IN THE CATACOMB OF S. CYRIACA, and Loculi in the Corridors (called also streets), now in the burial-ground of S. Lorenzo.

IN the course of the enlargement of the great burial-ground of Rome in the year 1870—1871, part of the tufa rock on the side of it was cut away in which this catacomb was situated, and one side of the corridors or streets, and of the *cubicula*, or burial-vaults, was thrown open to view. It is now, in 1874, again concealed by modern tombs built up against it, but the views here given shew very clearly the old arrangement, and the manner in which the corridors followed the geological formation of the rock, being always made on a bed of soft tufa between two beds or layers of hard tufa. The *loculi*, or places for the bodies to be laid in the graves cut in the rock, instead of being dug out in the ground, are here shewn very clearly.

CATACOMBS - CONSTRUCTION - SECTIONS.



S. CYRILICA - LOCULI IN CORRIDORS IN BURIAL GROUND OF S. LORENZO

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE II.

CONSTRUCTION.—SECTIONS OF THE CATACOMBS OF S. GENEROSA,
A.D. 500, AND S. CYRIACA, A.D. 259.

IN that of S. Generosa two of the *loculi* are left open, with the skeletons visible, a third is closed in the usual manner with tiles and mortar; the divisions or joints are thick, and are plainly seen in this photo-engraving. In the one from S. Cyriaca a *cubiculum* is shewn, with an *arco-solium* or arched recess for a stone coffin to be placed in. The usual features of a catacomb are therefore well seen in this cutting, without the aid of artificial light.

1. The *cubiculum*, or family burial-vault, sold in perpetuity to a particular family.

2. The *arco-solium*, or arched recess for a sarcophagus or stone coffin for the heads of the family, or in a few very rare instances for the body of a martyr.

3. The *loculi*, or graves for ordinary persons, either in the family vault or in the corridors, passages, or streets; in the latter case they were generally for the poor, and the *loculus* was paid for by a burial-club.

CATACOMBS — CONSTRUCTION — SECTIONS.



S. GENEROSA—A. D. 500.
TWO LOCULI OPEN ONE NOT OPENED.



S. CYRIACA—A CUBICULUM.

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE III.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE BRICKWORK AT THE ENTRANCE.

THESE four examples are all at one of the entrances to the great catacomb of the family of Prætextatus. This entrance is from a sand-pit road near the church of S. Urban, which is situated in a cross-road or *diverticulum* from the Via Appia to the Via Latina, now a part of the Via Appia Nova; it is about a quarter of a mile from the Via Appia at the church of S. Sebastian. This sand-pit road is only about twenty feet below the level of the present road over it, and was probably a foss-way, subsequently vaulted over to make the road level with the ground on each side, or nearly so. The brickwork of Numbers I., II., III., is of the middle of the first century of the Empire and of the time of Nero, as is seen by the very fine joints, especially in No. II., where ten bricks to the foot can be counted in the six-foot rule shewn in this photo-engraving. The cornice and pediments over the doors are not likely to have been made for a sand-pit road only, unless it was open to the sky. No. IV. is of the second century, of the time of Hadrian, as is seen by the thickness of the mortar between the bricks, quite different from No. II. It is evident that this catacomb was a family burial-place in the first half of the first century of the Christian era, or before the Crucifixion, when there could have been no Christians to bury, and continued in use for at least three centuries.



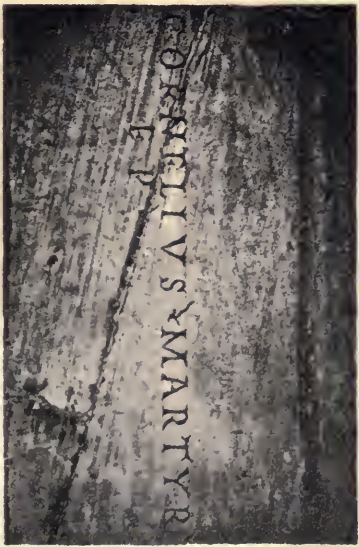
EUTYCHIANUS EPISCOPUS.



FABIANUS EPISCOPUS.



ANTEROS EPISCOPUS.



CORNELIUS MARTYR EPISCOPUS.

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE IV.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE LOCULI OF FOUR BISHOPS OF THE THIRD CENTURY, IN THE CATACOMB OF S. CALIXTUS.

THE inscription of Bishop Eutychianus, A.D. 238, Fabianus, A.D. 249, and Anteros, A.D. 235, are in Greek characters; that of Cornelius, martyr and bishop, A.D. 252, is in the Latin character. It is the fashion now for Protestants to doubt the authenticity of these inscriptions, because they see that the catacomb of Calixtus has been too much *restored* and got up for show, with the object of restoring it to use as a place of worship and for pilgrimages on certain festival days. But these suspicions are carried too far; there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of these *inscriptions in the Catacombs*. Greek was the language of the Church until after that period, and there were many Greek Christians in Rome in the third century. The change of the seat of empire was the ruin of Rome in many ways, and after that time more Romans went to Greece than Greeks came to Rome. Those inscriptions have all the character of authenticity, only in some cases the originals were carried off to the Pontifical Museum, and plaster casts substituted for them in their original places.

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE I.

VIA APPIA—PRÆTEXTATUS.

CULTIVATION OF THE VINE.

THE CATACOMBS—PAINTINGS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE I.

VIA APPIA—PRÆTEXTATUS.

CULTIVATION OF THE VINE.

THE catacomb of the great Roman family of Prætextatus is commonly called by Roman Catholics *Saint Prætextatus*, but this is an error. It is one of the earliest of the Catacombs, and the construction of the walls at one of the entrances is of the time of Nero, as is shewn in Plate I. of the Construction of the Catacombs. The chamber in which this painting is found is a fine lofty square room, or chapel, at the principal entrance. It is built with brick walls and not merely excavated in the rock, and is just within the early wall. It was, no doubt, the place where the commemorative funeral services were held at the anniversaries of the deaths of the members of the family buried in the family vault, to which this was the principal entrance. The phototype diagram is a facsimile of a photograph taken from nature with the magnesian light, and no attempt is made to embellish it or improve upon the original, as is generally done in all the engravings of these paintings that are published. The painting may possibly be as early as the second century, but is more likely to be of the third, as S. Urban was buried in this catacomb in A.D. 230, and the paintings are more likely to have been executed after that time than before it. The relics of the martyrs were what gave celebrity to the catacombs or cemeteries in which they were interred. The same subject occurs also in fresco in the catacomb of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, or Domitilla, which is also an early catacomb, and in the mosaic pictures in the vault of the mausoleum of Constantia. The subject may be either pagan or Christian; it is commonly supposed to be Christian, illustrative of the text, "I am the vine, ye are the branches," and the birds are supposed to symbolize the souls of the departed. This lofty vaulted chamber is mentioned in some of the early legends. It had long been lost sight of, and was re-discovered by De Rossi in 1848. This painting has not been engraved by Bosio nor by Perret, and is believed not to have been published before, excepting a woodcut of it in the *Bulletino di Archeologia Christiana* of De Rossi.



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE II.

VIA ARDEATINA—SS. NEREUS AND ACHILLEUS,
OR DOMITILLA (?).

AN AGAPE.

VIA SALARIA—S. PRISCILLA.
MADONNA AND PROPHET.

THE CATACOMBS—PAINTINGS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE II.

I. VIA ARDEATINA—SS. NEREUS AND ACHILLEUS, OR DOMITILLA (?).

AN AGAPE.

THE first of these cemeteries is in the Via Ardeatina, between S. Sebastian's and S. Paul's. An Agape, or love-feast, is a common subject of the paintings in the Catacombs, and sometimes seems to be evidently a representation of the family gatherings that were held on the anniversaries in these tombs, in the same manner as they were in the painted tombs in the Via Latina or the Via Appia. These paintings are often supposed to be the LAST SUPPER, and sometimes may be so, but the one before us can hardly be intended for Christ and His Apostles. This picture is probably one of those of the time of John I., A.D. 523, who made this catacomb, according to Anastasius. This probably means that he made burial-vaults for the relics of the martyrs, and for others to be interred near them. The word *cœmeterium* may mean either the whole ground occupied by a series of these vaults, and the corridors connecting them, or each separate vault.

2. VIA SALARIA—S. PRISCILLA.

MADONNA AND PROPHET.

The second picture in the lower part of the page, from the catacomb of S. Priscilla, is one to which the Roman officials attach great importance, and consider to be of very early date. The catacomb or cemetery of S. Priscilla is on the Via Salaria, and is also said by Anastasius to have been *renewed* by John I., but was an early catacomb. The question is whether the paintings belong to the renewal or to the original work. It is in so bad a state, as the photograph shews, that it is not easy to decide the question. The traditions of the Roman Church make this catacomb to have belonged to the family of Pudens; and the painted chapel, called the Cappella Græca, to have been the burial-place of S. Pudenciana. The frescoes in this chapel are of earlier character than most of the others in the Catacombs, but can hardly be so early as the date assumed for them. This painting is not in that chapel; the Roman authorities consider the two figures to be the blessed Virgin, and the prophet Isaiah addressing her, but this is only conjecture. The chromo-lithograph of the picture given by Dr. Northcote shews how much the clever modern artists in Rome can improve on the originals. It is engraved by Bosio, p. 541, in the fourth *cubiculum*, in the style of his period.

CATACOMBS



S. NEREUS. AN ACAPE ?



S. PRISCILLA. MADONNA AND PROPHET

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE III.

VIA SALARIA—S. PRISCILLA.

1. THE THREE CHILDREN IN THE "BURNING FIERY FURNACE."
SHADRACH, MESHECH AND ABEDNEGO, OR DANIEL, &c.
2. AN ORANTE ADDRESSED BY OTHER PERSONS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE III.

VIA SALARIA—S. PRISCILLA.

1. THE THREE CHILDREN IN THE "BURNING FIERY FURNACE."
SHADRACH, MESHECH AND ABEDNEGO, OR DANIEL, &c.

2. AN ORANTE ADDRESSED BY OTHER PERSONS.

BOTH of these paintings belong to the renewal by John I., A.D. 523.

That this was a very ancient family burial-place there is no doubt, probably as early as the second century, and it may have been painted at that period. We know that it was the custom to have a painted chamber in a tomb as a sort of guest-chamber, where the family would assemble at the anniversaries, according to an old Roman custom, still continued to some extent, as it is still the custom for the Romans to assemble at the grave of a deceased member of the family on the anniversary of his or her death. The painted tombs on the Via Latina are of the second century, but there is certainly nothing of the same character in the catacomb or cemetery of S. Priscilla. The Roman authorities say that the stucco ornament is of the same character as that in the Thermæ of Titus and Trajan, which is also of the second century. There is very little stucco ornament remaining there, and the celebrated tombs on the Via Latina are a more fair object for comparison; let any one compare our photographs, or photo-engravings, of the two, and see whether they think they can possibly be of the same age. If there have been paintings of that period in S. Priscilla, they have been destroyed or renewed at a later period.

Compare 613, 1468, 1469, 1470, 1471, 1472, from S. Priscilla, with 2091, 2092, 2095, 2098, 2099, 2100, from the Painted Tombs, or Plates XV. and XVI. of Tombs with Plates II., III., V., VI., of Catacombs.

Here are photographs of six of each of these two subjects, which the Roman authorities allege to be of the same period; let Dr. Northcote himself compare them, and see whether he can still believe that to be the case.



« THE BURNING FIERY FURNACE »



AN ORANTE ADDRESSED BY OTHER PERSONS

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE IV.

VIA APPIA—S. CALIXTUS.

AN AGAPE (?), OR THE LAST SUPPER.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE IV.

VIA APPIA—S. CALIXTUS.

AN AGAPE (?), OR THE LAST SUPPER.

THIS painting has more the appearance of being really intended for the Last Supper than most of the paintings of this class. The central figure has a certain dignity about it. Upon the round plates on the table are fishes, and the eight baskets are full of bread. It may be a Christian painting of a bad period, and intended to commemorate some of our Lord's miracles. The principal lines on the edges of the dresses have been renewed. This painting is under an *arco-solium* in the chapel of the Sacraments, the burial-place of the Bishops of Rome in the third century. All the paintings in that part of this great catacomb that is usually open to the public, and in which masses are said on certain occasions, have long been said by well-informed persons to have been *restored* within the last twenty years, but this is now denied by the Roman Catholic authorities. To English eyes a *restoration* is quite another matter from an original painting, it is like a *copy* of a Raphael compared with the original.

An engraving of this painting is given by Bosio in the sixth *arco-solium* of this catacomb, p. 523; he calls it Christ and the Apostles. It is also given by Perret in the modern French style, vol. i. p. 28; and by Dr. Northcote in plate xiii., much embellished by colour, and improved by the skill of modern artists.



AN AGAPE? OR THE LAST SUPPER?

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE V.

VIA SALARIA—S. PRISCILLA.

THE WINE CASKS.

VIA APPIA—S. CALIXTUS.

CHRIST AND THE CHURCH (?).

THE CATACOMBS—PAINTINGS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE V.

VIA SALARIA, S. PRISCILLA—THE WINE CASKS.

1. THIS painting probably belongs to the time of John I., A.D. 525, who *renewed* this cemetery, as we are told by Anastasius. Allegorical meanings are attached to this painting by the Roman authorities. Protestant writers consider it only as the burial-place of a wine-merchant. It is engraved by Bosio, p. 557. In the background, on the wall, are *graffiti* (or scratchings) of the names of ANTONIVS BOSIVS ORATIVS—DE NOBILIBVS, &c., and in front is a tombstone, with the inscription BONAVIAE CONJVGI SANCTISSIMAE. Since this photograph was taken, this inscription has been removed by the authorities.

VIA APPIA, S. CALIXTUS—CHRIST AND THE CHURCH (?).

These two figures, one on either side of a small table, on which are two dishes, one with a fish upon it and the other with bread, are supposed to represent our Lord after the Resurrection, and the Christian Church in the form of a woman, with the hands uplifted in the oriental attitude of prayer, such as is usually called in the Catacombs an Orante. This explanation is of course conjectural only, but seems not improbable. The painting is so much damaged that it is difficult to tell to what period it belongs. The photograph, No. 1805, or the phototype plate of the original, should be compared with Dr. Northcote's very pretty *restoration* of it in plate xiv. of his volume. At first sight, one could hardly believe that they are meant for the same drawing. A part of this great catacomb is as early as the second century, but there are no paintings in it earlier than the fourth or fifth. Sixtus III., A.D. 432—440, is recorded to have made a *platonía* in this catacomb; this word is probably a mediæval corruption of *platea*, an area in a house, the walls faced with stone (?) or paved (?), as in Lampridius, Heliogabalus, 24, "*stravit et saxis Lacedemoniis ac porphyreticis plateas in Palatio, quas Antoninianas vocavit.*" In this passage *stravit* may mean covering the walls with slabs of porphyry also, as well as the floor. It is evident that in several instances the word *platonía* is applied by Anastasius to a chapel lined with marble plates for inscriptions, as at S. Sebastian's. Some of the paintings are likely to be of the fifth century, others belong to the restoration of Pope Leo III., A.D. 795.



S. PRISCILLA. THE WINE CASKS



S. CALIXTUS. CHRIST AND THE CHURCH

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE VI.

VIA SALARIA—S. PRISCILLA.

1. AN ORANTE AND ANOTHER FIGURE.

2. AN ORANTE, WITH A MOTHER AND CHILD(?), OR A MADONNA.

THE CATACOMBS—PAINTINGS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VI.

VIA SALARIA—S. PRISCILLA.

- I. AN ORANTE AND ANOTHER FIGURE.
2. AN ORANTE, WITH A MOTHER AND CHILD (?), OR A MADONNA.

THIS fresco has evidently been re-touched or renewed, but the original outline is probably preserved, and belongs to a rude period of art, apparently part of the work of John I., A.D. 523, who *renewed* this cemetery, as has been said, and the authority for that is given in the Chapter on the subject. The Orantes are always allowed to be the representation of the deceased person interred near that spot. The other figures are likely to be other members of the family.

To the second picture symbolical meanings are attached by the Roman Catholic authorities. The best summary of these is in the Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, by the Abbé Martigny. This Orante is by some considered as intended for the Madonna, by others for the Christian Church. Where so little real evidence remains there is room for conjecture, and there is no need to dogmatize on the subject, or pretend to settle such very doubtful points, on which each will retain his own opinion according to previous ideas. The object of this work is to elucidate the truth by the principle of comparison, and on carefully comparing the drawing of these frescoes with that of dated examples of art not Christian, it is impossible to assign so early a date to them as those usually given to them by the Roman Catholic authorities upon theological grounds, not artistic. These figures were probably restored under Nicholas I., A.D. 858—867. Bosio gives an engraving of this, p. 529, and calls it a Madonna, and the consecration of a Deacon.

The manner in which modern artists improve upon these old paintings can also be seen by comparing the photographs No. 610 A, 610 B. These photographs can be seen in the Bodleian Library and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the South Kensington Museum and the British Museum, London.



AN ORANTE AND ANOTHER FIGURE



AN ORANTE WITH MOTHER AND CHILD



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE VII.

VIA PORTUENSIS—S. PONTIANUS.

1. HEAD OF CHRIST IN AN AUREOLE.
2. SS. MARCELLINUS, POLLION, PETRUS.

THE CATACOMBS—PAINTINGS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VII.

VIA PORTUENSIS—S. PONTIANUS.

1. HEAD OF CHRIST IN AN AUREOLE.
2. SS. MARCELLINUS, POLLION, PETRUS.

THIS cemetery or catacomb is on the western side of the Tiber, about half-a-mile beyond the Porta Portuensis, on the road to Porto, but on the hill above, and on a higher level than the road in what is now a vineyard. The soil in which this catacomb is made is quite different from the others; instead of the granular tufa, or volcanic sand, which is the soil generally used for them near the Via Appia and the Via Ardeatina, this is an alluvial soil formed by the action of water on the bank of the Tiber. Whether from this cause, or from some others that have not been explained, the paintings in this catacomb are far more perfect than those in any other; they are the most celebrated and the most popular, and those that have been more often engraved and published than any others. Unfortunately they all belong to a very late period and a bad style of art, being of the time of Nicholas I., A.D. 858—867, who restored this cemetery.

The picture of the head of Christ is a very fine one, in an aureole or circular nimbus, with the cross on it, called also a cruciform nimbus. This head has been many times engraved and published, and it is amusing to compare those commonly sold in the shops of Rome with the original as shewn in the photograph, (see the Photographs, No. 463, 607 A, 608 B). These will illustrate the manner in which the clever modern artists have *improved upon* the originals; it is difficult to understand that they are intended for the same picture. It is engraved by Bosio, p. 29, honestly, but according to the bad style of his day.

The figures of the three Saints are in the style of the ninth century, and are painted on a brick wall of that period, *across* one of the corridors built when it was *restored* for the pilgrims. All beyond this wall is in so bad a state that it would not pay to repair it, the builders therefore shut it out effectually by building the wall across the narrow passage to that part of the Catacombs. These paintings now face the visitor, and the wall stops him and compels him to return, but as the rock on one side has been broken away, it is possible to crawl behind the wall; the rest of the cemetery is a mere heap of ruins. These three Saints were all martyrs in the last great persecution under Diocletian, at the end of the third century; the Peter of the Catacombs usually is the Roman local saint of that name, and not the Apostle S. Peter.

CATACOMBS. S. PONTIANUS



HEAD OF CHRIST



SS. MARCELLINUS. POLLION. PETRUS

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE VIII.

VIA PORTUENSIS—S. PONTIANUS.

1. THE JEWELLED CROSS.

2. THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

THE CATACOMBS—PAINTINGS.

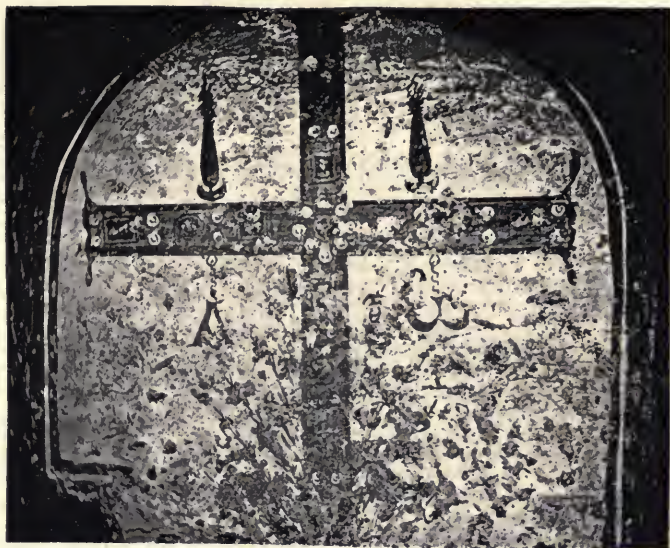
DESCRIPTION OF PLATE VIII.

VIA PORTUENSIS—S. PONTIANUS.

I. THE JEWELLED CROSS. 2. THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST.

THESE are two of the most celebrated and popular frescoes in the Catacombs, which are seen in all the shops where such things are sold, but the modern artists who have copied them have improved them so much that they can hardly be recognised as the same, the proportions being so different. (Compare the Photographs, No. 609 A, 609 B, to see the difference.) A similar jewelled cross occurs in the mosaic picture in S. Pudentiana. The jewelled cross was called the Cross of Glory, the plain was the Cross of Shame, to mark the degradation to which our Lord submitted for our sins. The fact of its being jewelled also indicates the period; during the eighth and ninth centuries it was the custom for the ladies to wear pearls and other jewels in this fashion, and beads to assist devotion also came in at that time.

The Baptism of Christ is another very favourite picture from the Catacombs, also belonging to the same period, the ninth century. It is under an arched recess at the bottom of which is a well, said to have been used for baptism by the early Christians in the times of persecution. Whether this is true or not, there is no doubt that it was so used in the miracle-plays, by which the people were taught in the fourth and fifth centuries, when they could not read, and by which the common people and children are still taught by the Roman Catholic Church, who consider teaching by the eye as the best mode of teaching. Children remember what they have seen far better than what they have only read or heard. Those who have seen the miracle-plays at Amersgau agree that it is an admirable mode of teaching ignorant people. The Pope and the Cardinals performed a series of miracle-plays in S. Peter's, according to the old custom, for many centuries, and this custom is still kept up to a great extent, although the Pope himself no longer takes his part in them. Unfortunately the dresses designed by Michael Angelo, and still worn in S. Peter's, have now very much the effect of scenes in the Opera. The images now used in the churches of Rome at the principal Christian seasons, being in the costumes of the Middle Ages, have also very much the same effect.



THE JEWELLED CROSS



THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE IX.

VIA APPIA.—PRÆTEXTATUS.

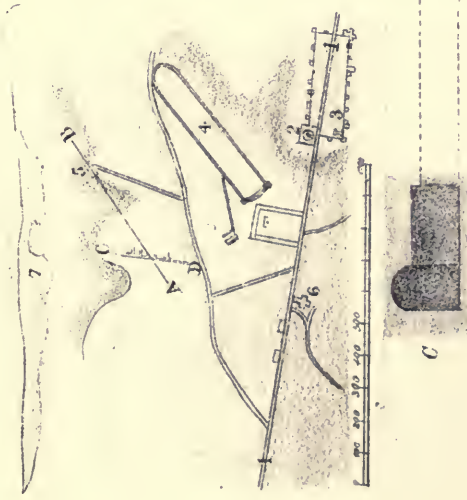
PLAN AND SECTION.

THIS is one of the most ancient underground cemeteries in the neighbourhood of Rome; it is situated in the district called *ad catacumbas*, on the eastern side of the road, nearly opposite to the Church of S. Sebastian, under a large vineyard, and it extends to a considerable distance, in different directions, both along the Via Appia and also along the cross-road. The catacomb, or cemetery for the worship of Mithras, commonly called "of the Gnostics," is believed to have been connected with this, although the corridor has not been excavated. In the eastern direction, it extends very near to the Church of S. Urban, and it is thought by many that one of the entrances to it was through that church, although this also has not been excavated; and others say there was no such connection. The small sketch-map of the district, given in the corner of the Plate, shews the situation of it. The entrance now used is modern, made by the Pontifical authorities within a few years. The section A—B is on the line of an ancient sand-pit road, with doorways from it into the catacomb, and a brick wall of the first century, shewn in the plate and photograph. The section C—D is taken across this, as shewn in the plan, and is intended to shew the supposed connection with the Church of S. Urban, on the bank of the valley of the Caffarella, marked 5^a on the plan. C is a continuation of B, and the dotted lines mark the supposed line of a passage, or corridor, or street, from this point to S. Urban's. Near to C there was an entrance, open a few years since, but a modern brick wall was built across it by the Pontifical authorities, because it was not convenient to have an access in that direction.

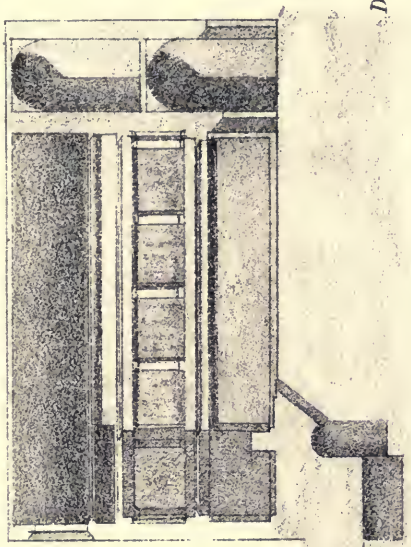
^a By an unfortunate mistake of the artist, the names of the two churches, S. Urban and S. Sebastian, are reversed. Any one who knows the

ground, will see at once that S. Sebastian is the church on the opposite side of the Via Appia, marked 6.

CATACOMB OF PRÆTEXTATUS. PLAN AND SECTIONS



1. *Viv Appia.*
2. *Tomb of Cecilia Metella.*
3. *Castle of the Gactani.*
4. *Circus of Marcellus.*
5. *Church of S. Sebastian.*
6. *S. Urban.*
7. *Foss and Stream of the Almc.*



A

B

THE CATACOMBS.

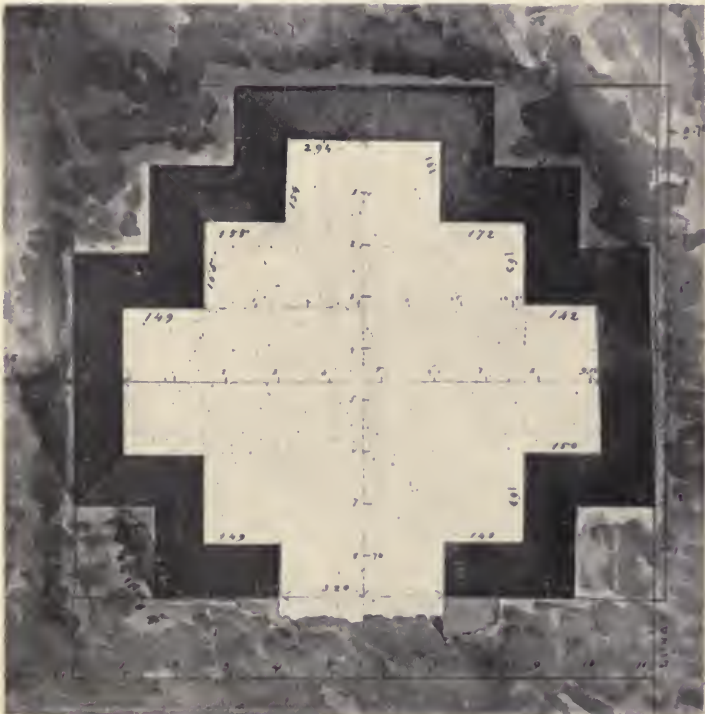
DESCRIPTION OF PLATE X.

PRÆTEXTATUS.—CHAPEL AT THE ENTRANCE.

THIS is one of the chapels near one of the original entrances, at the angle of the Via Appia and the Diverticulum, or cross-road, which goes from that old road just opposite to S. Sebastian's, to the Via Appia Nova, near the Tor Fiscale. This cross-road passes by S. Urbano, at about a quarter of a mile from the old road, and passes over the old sand-pit road, which has in parts been vaulted over to bring it to the present level of the road; it has been originally a deep foss-way, twenty feet deep, with the old entrance to the cemetery made in it. It is one of the two chapels near together, and near the top of a deep flight of steps down into the cemetery; this is on the plan of the Greek cross, as will be seen. The construction of the walls is of the fourth century, when similar chapels were built at the entrance to many of the Catacombs, immediately after the PEACE OF THE CHURCH had been declared by Constantine. There are similar chapels at the entrance to S. Sebastian's, on the opposite side of the road, and many others at the entrance to other cemeteries or catacombs, but this and the one close to it, shewn in the next Plate, are the most perfect that we have now remaining; they appear to have been what we should now call cemetery chapels for the burial service, and for the assembly of the family on the anniversaries, in place of the small brick vaults which had previously been used for that purpose, but were inconveniently small^b.

^b The chapels at S. Sebastian's are shewn in the Photographs, Nos. 285, 286, 287, 288.

CATACOMBS — PRAETEXTATUS. CHAPEL



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XI.

PRÆTEXTATUS.—CHAPEL AT THE ENTRANCE.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XI.

PRÆTEXTATUS.—CHAPEL AT THE ENTRANCE.

THIS is another of these interesting chapels, very near to the former one, but on a different plan, which forms a series of semi-circular arched recesses, or apses, arranged round a circular centre. The construction of the walls is of the fourth century.

The reason of these two being so near together probably was, that they belonged to different branches of the great family of Prætextatus, which was a very numerous clan, or *gens*, as we see from many inscriptions and notices of them in the first three centuries. Probably, as the number increased, it was necessary to provide this extra accommodation. At S. Sebastian's the chapels are more numerous, for this was the original entrance to several catacombs, and was at first called THE CATACOMB. There might have been a passage from that of Prætextatus to S. Sebastian's, but as it would have to pass under the Via Appia, it is more probable that the catacombs on either side of this great highway were kept distinct.

CATACOMBS — PRAETEXTATUS. CHAPEL



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XII.

PRÆTEXTATUS.

ONE OF THE ORIGINAL ENTRANCES.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XII.

PRÆTEXTATUS.

ONE OF THE ORIGINAL ENTRANCES.

THIS half-ruined corridor is at the bottom of a deep flight of steps, the top of which is close to the two chapels shewn in the two preceding plates. These steps are original, but they are covered with briars, and at the foot of them is a door, which is regularly kept locked by the Pontifical authorities, and the only entrance practicable (in 1875) to this part of the catacomb was down a ladder. The intermediate floor being destroyed, the plan shews the places for three floors or storeys, one over the other. It is too much mutilated for anything more to be seen. The *loculi* and *arco-solia* in each storey can be made out, and it gives an idea of the present rough state of neglect in which this Catacomb remains.

CATACOMB OF PRAETEXTATUS



ORIGINAL ENTRANCE. CORRIDOR

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XIII.

FIRST CUBICULUM, WITH PAGAN FIGURES.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XIII.

FIRST CUBICULUM, WITH PAGAN FIGURES.

IN the first *cubiculum*, or burial-vault, in going from the foot of the steps on the left, the paintings remain tolerably perfect in one part, and are probably of the third century. The vault is of the usual character, with many *loculi* or single graves cut in the tufa rock on each side, and at the end an *arco-solium*, or place for a sarcophagus, or perhaps for two, a man and his wife, or the bodies may have been buried under the arch without stone coffins.

In the upper part of the Plate is a group of three figures, well drawn, in attitudes of speaking in agitation, but with none of the usual attributes of Christian or Scriptural subjects. This is important, as shewing that the great cemetery or catacomb of the family of Prætextatus was on the same footing as the *columbaria* in the other tombs on the Via Appia, near to it; the same laws and the same customs applied to all alike. When the family became Christian, then the paintings of their burial-vaults are Christian, and Scriptural also.

CATACOMB OF PRAETEXTATUS. PAGAN FIGURES



FIRST CUBICULUM, WITH PAGAN FIGURES

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XIV.

PRÆTEXTATUS.

PAGAN FIGURES OF THE THIRD CENTURY IN THE FIRST CUBICULUM.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XIV.

PRÆTEXTATUS.

PAGAN FIGURES OF THE THIRD CENTURY IN THE FIRST CUBICULUM.

THESE figures are further evidence that the great family of Prætextatus, to whom this extensive cemetery belonged, were not Christians, or at least not exclusively Christians, in the third century. In the next *cubiculum* to this, a few yards further on, and on the opposite side of the corridor, the paintings *are* Christian, and these have been published by De Rossi, and in the excellent abridgment of his great work by Messrs. Brownlow and Northcote; but not a word is said by them about these *Pagan* pictures, which do not agree with the Vatican theory, that the Catacombs were *exclusively* Christian. It is probable that one branch of the great family of Prætextatus were worshippers of Mithras, and that the burial-vault in which the paintings of these subjects are found, was also part of the same great cemetery.

Unfortunately no more photographs are now (in 1875) permitted to be taken in the Catacombs, and as that is the case we are obliged to be content with drawings, which although rough-looking, are not more rude than the originals, and give a better idea of them than more highly-finished drawings would do.

CATACOMB OF PRAETEXTATUS



PAGAN FIGURES OF THE THIRD CENTURY



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XV.

FRESCO PAINTING IN A CATACOMB OF THE
WORSHIPPERS OF MITHRAS.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XV.

FRESCO PAINTING IN A CATACOMB

OF THE

WORSHIPPERS OF MITHRAS.

THIS picture is supposed to represent seven priests of Mithras seated at a table (SEPTĒ PII SACERDOTES). In the centre is the priest VINCENTIVS. He and two others wear the Phrygian cap. It is undoubtedly Mithraic. The number 7 was a favourite in that worship. The seven planets (to which great reverence was made in that worship), the seven stairs, by which the believer ascended into heaven, and the seven degrees of initiation, support the idea^c.

^c See Dr. Henzen's paper (*inter alia*) in the *Bullettino dell Ist. di corrisp. Arch.*, 1868, pp. 97, 98.

CATACOMB OF MITHRAIC WORSHIPPERS



VINCENTIUS PII SACERDOTES

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XVI.

CATACOMBS OF THE WORSHIPPERS OF MITHRAS.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XVI.

CATACOMBS OF THE WORSHIPPERS OF MITHRAS.

THIS picture is supposed to represent the Judgment of the Soul. We see a good angel, introducing a woman, called Vibia, to several persons. Over them is written INDVCTIO VIBIÆ. Under the arch are six figures, with Vibia in the centre, and over their heads the inscription, BONORVM IVDICIO IVDICATI.

There is nothing like this in the plates to Lajard's great work^d, nor any allusion to such a proceeding in any of the ancient authors. A German set of bas-reliefs in Lajard shews the purgatorial cleansing of the believer, his ascension of the seven stairs, and his final acceptance by the crowned Mithras. Yet this representation should be Mithraic. Vibia, who is introduced, is the wife of Vincentius, a Mithraic priest, and is buried with him in the same cemetery. But there is considerable doubt on the subject of this picture^e.

^d Lajard (J. B. F.) *Reserches sur le culte public et les mystères de Mithra, en Orient et en Occident.* Livr. I to 13 (all published), sm. folio, Paris, 1847-8.

^e See Garrucci's book upon these and other paintings, *Les mystères du Syncretisme Phrygien*, p. 23.

CATACOMB OF THE GNOSTICS? OR OF MITHRAS?



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XVII.

SS. PETER AND MARCELLINUS—AN AGAPE.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XVII.

SS. PETER AND MARCELLINUS—AN AGAPE.

THIS is distinctly one of the commemorative funeral family feasts which are so well known as a custom of the Roman people for many centuries, and which custom was not discontinued when they became Christians. There is nothing to indicate whether the family here represented were Christians or not. It represents five persons seated at a triclinium, a table with provisions before it, in the middle, and a boy-servant standing by the table, holding up a goblet.

That the feast represented is funereal may be inferred from the words VA LETE, written partly on one side and partly on the other side of the picture, viz. VA and LETE.

The names of the five persons consist of two each, with one exception (the boy being unnamed). These names, under any circumstances, are remarkable :—

1. VOLSCUS PUPPEUS.
2. POMPONIUS FABIUS.
3. Two names illegible, under No. 1; the first having its termination in "a."
4. FABIANU(s), in the centre, with no other name.
5. Two names quite illegible.

The date of this fresco-painting is believed to be A.D. 772, when this cemetery was *restored* by Pope Hadrian I.

CATACOMBS S.S. PETER AND MARCELLINUS—AN AGAPE.



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XVIII.

S. AGNES.

PLAN AND SECTION.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XVIII.

S. AGNES.

PLAN AND SECTION.

A. Church of S. Agnes, with the Monastery adjoining.

B. S. Constantia—Church, Mausoleum, and Baptistery.

A—B. Line of Section along the west end of the Church of S. Agnes, and the steps descending into it.

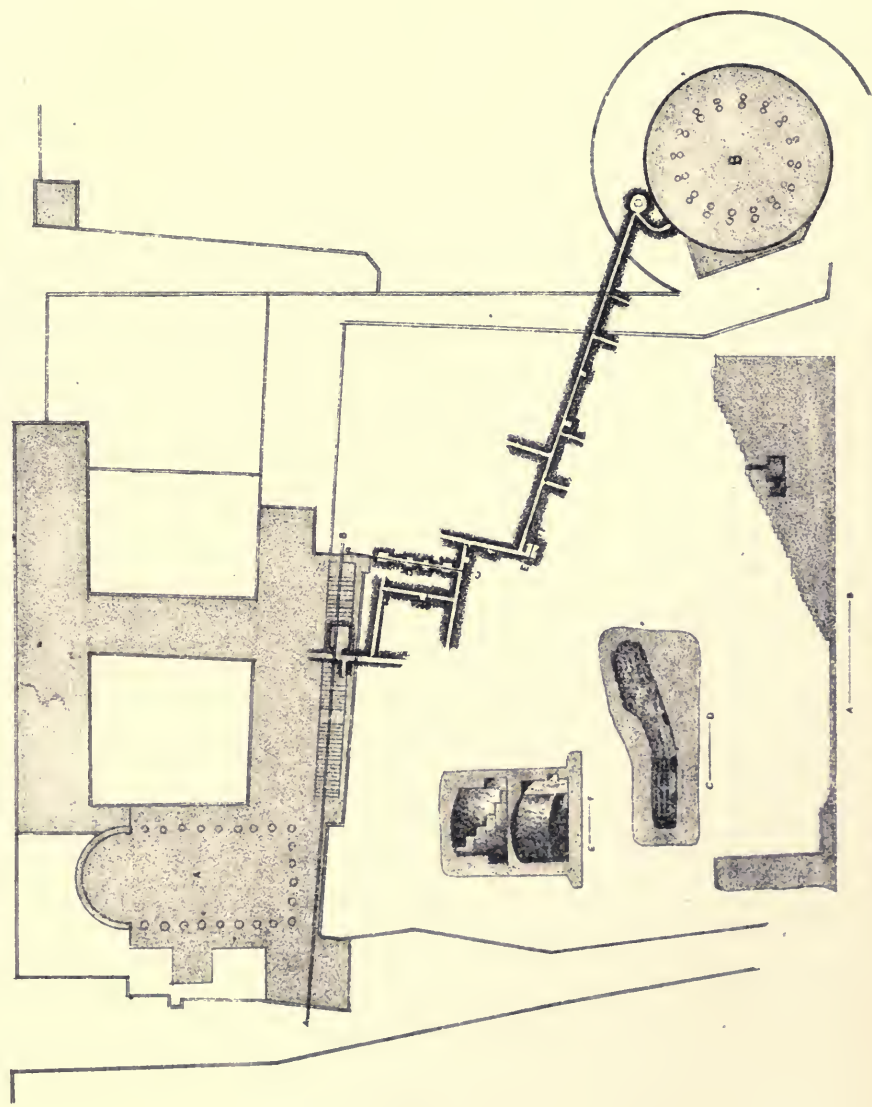
C—D. Other steps, and original entrance into the cemetery or catacomb.

E—F. Section of a Pagan Tomb communicating with the Catacomb.

A passage from the Catacomb under the Church of S. Agnes to that under S. Constantia is also shewn by the shaded line from one to the other.

The carriage-road from the Porta Pia to the Ponte Nomentana runs along the front of the Monastery on the east side, and a cross-road on the north side of the church descends very rapidly to the level of the floor of the church. At the east end there is an entrance to the gallery, which at that end is on the same level as the road.

CATACOMB OF S. AGNES. PLAN AND SECTIONS.



A. Church of S. Agnes.

B. S. Constantia.

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XIX.

S. PONTIANUS.

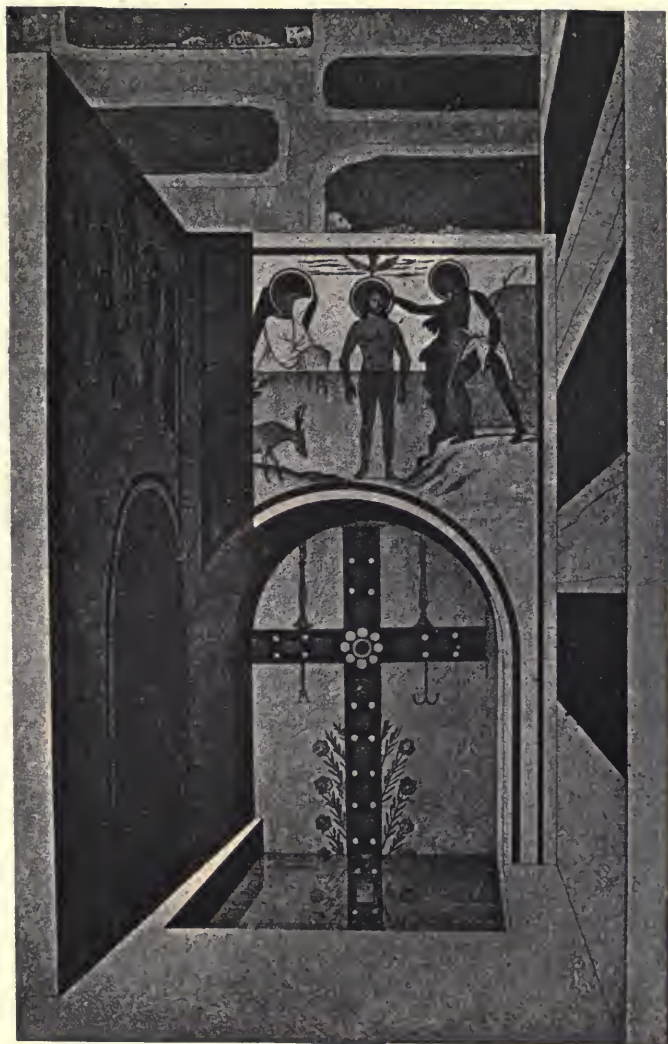
THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XIX.

S. PONTIANUS.

THE BAPTISTERY, with the Baptism of Christ painted on the wall, over the arch. He is represented standing in the river Jordan up to His waist in water, in which fishes are swimming, and at which a hart is drinking; the Holy Dove is over His head. S. John Baptist is standing on the bank, and pouring water on His head, or perhaps only holding out his hand to touch it. On the opposite side is another figure in a white dress, hiding his face. All the three figures have the nimbus. Under the arch and over the well is a painting of the jewelled cross, with the A and Q hanging from the arms of the cross, and what appear to be two candlesticks standing upon them. But the Plate is from a drawing of Perret, and is very miserably drawn. The proportions of the cross are altogether erroneous. The original picture is of the ninth century. It was not found practicable to reduce the Photographs, Nos. 608 and 609, to an octavo page.

CATACOMB OF S PONTIANUS



BAPTISM OF CHRIST
from a drawing



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XX.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE CHURCH OF
S. SEBASTIANUS IN CATACUMBIS.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XX.

CHURCH OF S. SEBASTIAN "IN CATACUMBIS."

I. INSCRIPTION OF POPE DAMASUS IN HONOUR OF S. EUTYCHIUS THE MARTYR, IN TWELVE VERSES (on the left hand on entering the church). The principal object of this Photo-engraving is to shew the beautiful character of the calligraphy of the inscription of Pope Damasus. These inscriptions are very numerous in the Catacombs, and all of this beautiful calligraphy, and usually in Latin verse, not without elegance of style, though the construction of the sentences is sometimes not clear. Damasus restored all the Catacombs, after they had been damaged during the persecution under Julian the Apostate.

EVTYCHIVS . MARTYR . CRVDELIA . IVSSA . TYRANNI
CARNIFICVMQ . VIAS . PARITER . TVNC . MILLE . NOCENDI
VINCERE . QVOD . POTVIT . MONSTRAVIT . GLORIA . CHRISTI
CARCERIS . INLVVIEM . SEQVITVR . NOVA . POENA . PER . ARTVS
TESTARVM . FRAGMENTA . PARANT . NE . SOMNVS . ADIRET
BISSENI . TRANSIERE . DIES . ALIMENTA . NEGANTVR
MITTITVR . IN . BARATHRUM . SANCTVS . LAVAT . OMNIA . SANGVIS
VVLNERA . QVAE . INTVLERAT . MORTIS . METVENDA . POTESTAS
NOCTE . SOPORIFERA . TVRBANT . INSOMNIA . MENTEM
OSTENDIT . LATEBRA . INSONTIS . QVAE . MEMBRA . TENERET
QVAERITVR . INVENTVS . COLITVR . FOVET . OMNIA . PRESTANS
EXPRESSIT . DAMASVS . MERITVM . VENERARE . SEPVLCHRVM^f

"That Euty chius the Martyr was able to overcome the cruel orders of the tyrant, and equally at that time the executioners' thousand ways of torment, the glory of Christ shewed. A new punishment follows the filth of the prison. They provide breaking of tiles on his limbs, to prevent sleep approaching. Twice six days passed, food is refused. The saint is thrown into a pit, blood bedews all the wounds which the dread power of death had caused. In night, which usually brings sleep, sleeplessness troubles his mind. The place of concealment which held the limbs of the innocent, manifested them (?). He is sought for, being found he is revered, he benefits all things. Damasus shewed forth his exceeding merit; venerate his tomb."

2. ANOTHER INSCRIPTION IN THE SAME CHURCH (over a door on the right-hand side, looking towards the altar).

VISITET . HIC . PIA . MENS . SCTORVM . BVSTA . FREQVENTER
IN . CRISTO . QVORVM . GLORIA . PERPES . ERIT

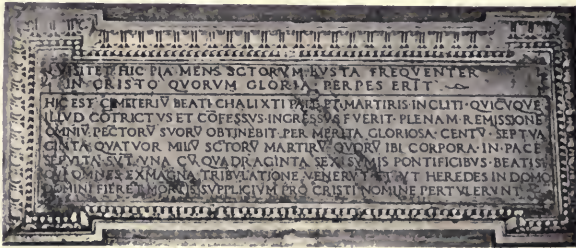
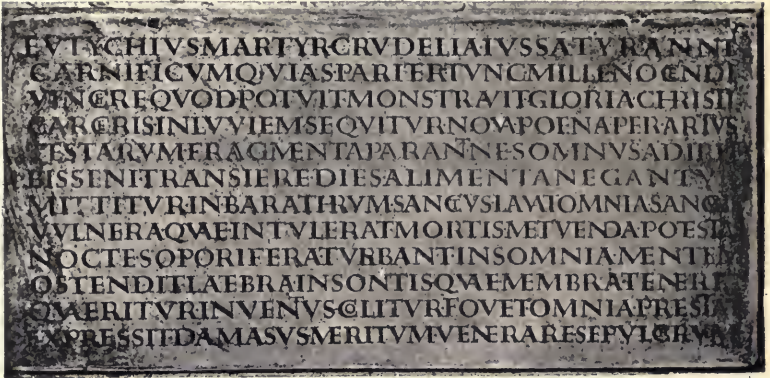
HIC . EST . CEMETERIV . BEATI . CHALIXTI . PAPE . ET . MARTIRIS . INCLITI . QVICVQVE
ILLVD . COTRICTVS . ET . COFESSVS . INGRESSVS . FVERIT . PLENAM . REMISSIONE
OMNIV . PECTORV . SVORV . OBTINEBIT . PER . MERITA . GLORIOSA . CENTV . SEPTVA-
GINTA . QVATVOR . MILIV . SCTORV . MARTIRV . QVORV . IBI . CORPORA . IN . PACE
SEPVLTA . SVT . VNA . CV . . QVADRAGINTA . SEX . PONTIFICIBVS . BEATIS
QVI . OMNES . EX . MAGNA . TRIBVLATIONE . VENERVT . ET . VT . HEREDES . IN . DOMO
DOMINI . FIERET . MORTIS . SVPLICIVM . PRO . CRISTI . NOMINE . PERTVLERVNT

"Here let the pious mind often visit the tombs of the saints,
Whose glory will be everlasting in Christ."

"Here is the cemetery of the blessed Calixtus, renowned Pope and Martyr. Whoever shall have entered it contrite and after confession, shall obtain full remission of all his sins, through the glorious merits of 174,000 martyr saints, whose bodies are buried here in peace, together with forty-six blessed pontiffs, who all came out of great tribulation, and suffered the punishment of death for Christ's name, that they might become heirs in the Lord's house."

^f Or, "the excellent Damasus shewed forth his merit :—" "praestantia Damasi" occurs as the nominative in similar inscriptions in De Rossi.

IN ECCL. S. SEBASTIANI INSCRIPTIO DAMASIANA



IN ECCL. S. SEBASTIANI. INSCRIPTIO.

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XXI.

CHURCH OF S. SEBASTIAN

PICTURES IN A CHAPEL.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXI.

CHURCH OF S. SEBASTIAN. PICTURES IN A CHAPEL.

THE small chapel in which these pictures remain is on the stairs that descend from the choir of the church to the Platonía, a large crypt or subterranean chapel, with an altar and *confessio* of the twelfth century in the middle of it. The walls were lined with inscriptions, now destroyed. The small chapel on the stairs could only have been a *sacrarium*; there is only room for the altar and the priests to stand.

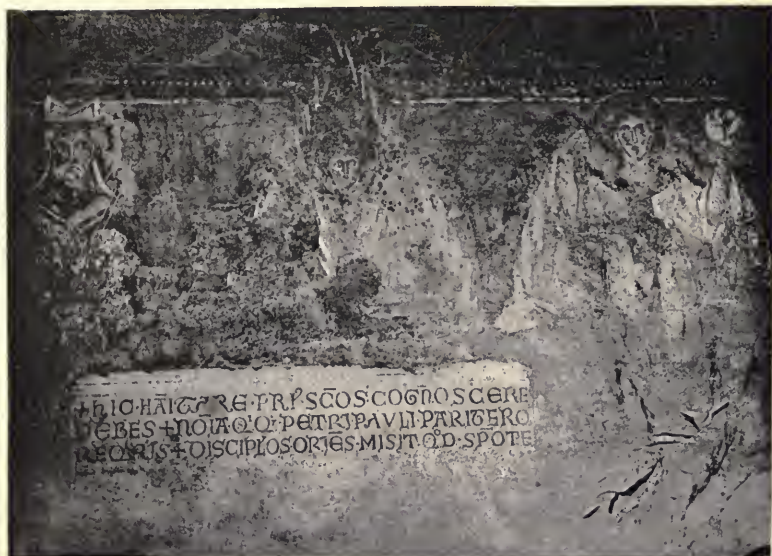
1. In the upper picture, over the heads of the saints, the figure on the left has the papal crown of early character; the one to the right has the hands uplifted, and holds in his left hand the eucharistic wafer, with a cross upon it, in his right a string of beads. Between the two is an archangel, whose wings are uplifted. Under the figures is an inscription at the back of the altar.

+ HIC HABITARE PRIVS SANCTOS COGNOSCERE DEBES
+ NOMINA QVISQVE PETRI PAVLI PARITERQVE REQVIRIS
+ DISCIPLOS ORIENS MISIT QVOD SPONTE

(Two hexameters and part of a third, the contractions expanded.)

“ Here you are to know that saints once dwelt.
Every one who lookest for the names of Peter and of Paul alike.
That the East sent out the disciples spontaneously. . . ”

2. Heads of S. Peter and S. Paul in the same chapel, on a landing-place of the stairs. These paintings are believed to be of the eleventh century, from the style of drawing, the calligraphy of the inscription, and the costume of the heads, with beards, and long hair.



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XXII.

BASILICA OF S. PETRONILLA.

ON THE VIA ARDEATINA, AND VIA DI SETTE CHIESE, ABOUT
HALF-WAY BETWEEN S. SEBASTIAN'S AND S. PAUL'S.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXII.

BASILICA OF S. PETRONILLA.

ON THE VIA ARDEATINA, AND VIA DI SETTE CHIESE, ABOUT
HALF WAY BETWEEN S. SEBASTIAN'S AND S. PAUL'S.

1. The *porticus*, or porch and entrance, with part of the nave.
2. The apse, with an opening into the large catacomb of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, Petronilla, &c.

The remains of this church were excavated in 1873-74 by the Pontifical Government, at the expense of the late Monsignor De Merode, who bought a large tract of ground in that part of the Campagna. Monsignor De Merode unfortunately died before the work was completed. In 1875, after the death of Monsignor De Merode, his executors rebuilt the church, but the ancient remains have been preserved as far as possible. The remains of the altar are on the chord of the apse, and there is a communication from that to the catacomb behind it, and this is now used again as the entrance to it.

The building is of two periods. A small burial-vault or chapel at the entrance of a great public cemetery has been rebuilt on a much larger scale, probably by John I., in A.D. 523, who *restored* so many of the catacombs or cemeteries round Rome. The words "catacomb" and "cemetery" are both used in a double sense, one general, the other special. In the general sense it signifies a public burial-place, often of great extent, consisting of a great number of *cubicula*, or burial-vaults, generally used as family vaults, connected by long narrow corridors or passages, called also streets, in the walls of which other interments were also made for persons who had not separate vaults. The tombs cut in the rock are called *loculi*. The church was, no doubt, originally a *cubiculum*, situated near the entrance to one of the principal corridors. One entrance, very near to the church, and some of the paintings near to it are probably of the second or third century.

In the upper view we see the marble columns of the nave, some lying about, others standing on their original bases, shewing a wide nave and narrow aisles.

In the lower view the apse is seen more perfect, and the entrance to the catacomb behind it. The bases of the columns are also seen *in situ*, and remains of sarcophagi in the floor of the church. This view was taken in 1874, when the excavations were in progress.

BASILICA PETRONILLÆ. PORTICUS



BASILICA S. PETRONILLÆ. APSIS

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XXIII.

SS. PETRONILLA, NEREUS, ACHILLEUS, &c.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXIII.

SS. PETRONILLA, NEREUS, ACHILLEUS, &c.

A. PAINTING of Christ and the Apostles on the vault of a burial-chapel or *cubiculum*, part of the restoration of John I., A.D. 523, from a drawing^g.

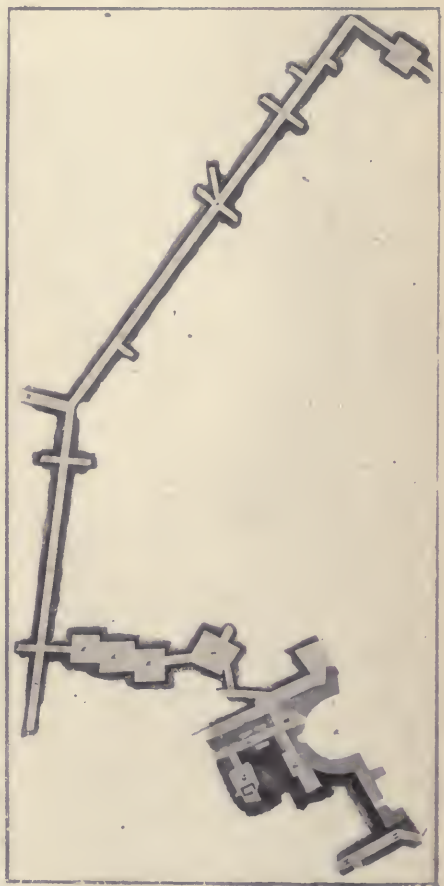
B. Plan of that part of the Catacomb which connects this chapel with the Church of S. Petronilla.

^g Permission to take photographs in the Catacombs is now (in 1875) refused by the Pontifical authorities, on the shallow pretext that the smoke of a magnesian lamp may injure the paintings, although the lamp must necessa-

rily be placed with the photographic machine at the opposite end of the chamber, in order to get a view at all, whereas the wax tapers in the hands of tourists frequently are so close to the pictures as almost to touch them.



A



B

A. CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES — B. PLAN OF CHURCH AND PART OF CATACOMB



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XXIV.

S. PRISCILLA.

PLAN.

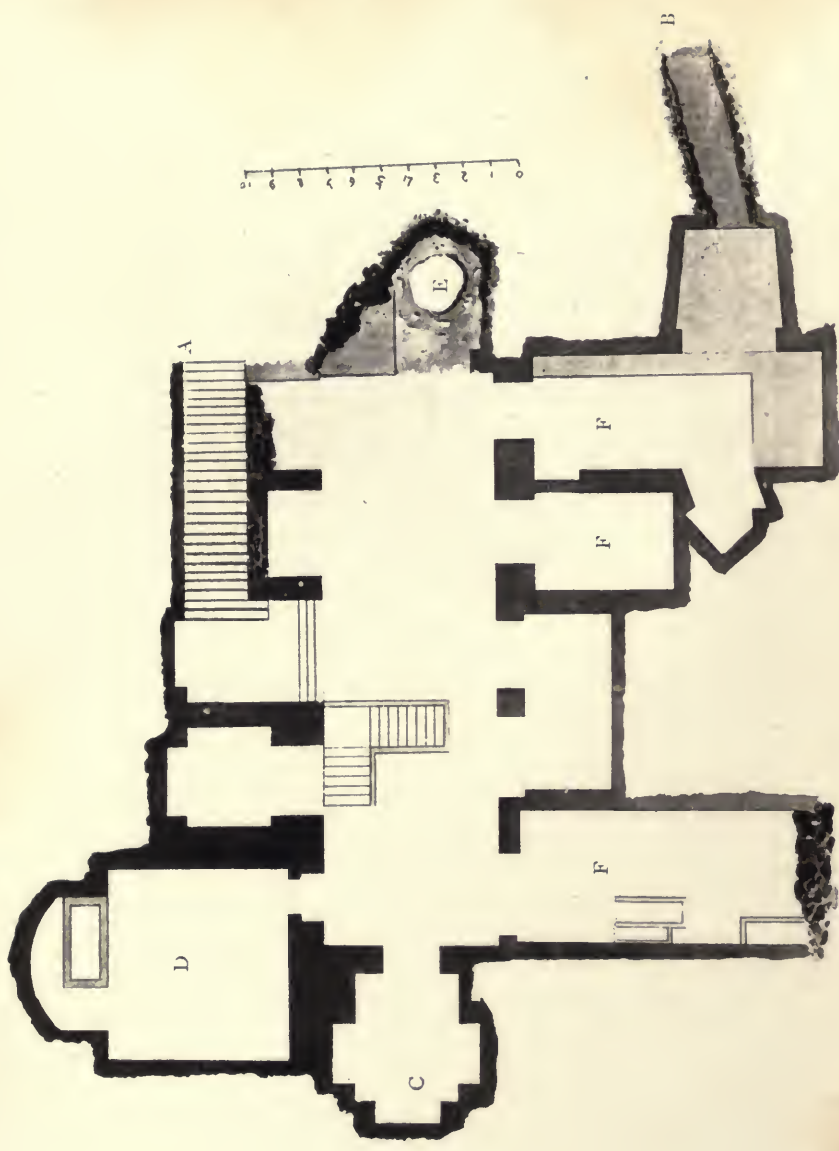
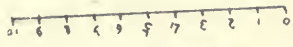
THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXIV.

S. PRISCILLA.

PLAN.

- A. Original entrance by a flight of steps.
- B. Present entrance by a modern passage.
- C. Capella Græca, or early chapel in the form of the Greek cross, with paintings on the walls.
- D. Another early chapel, of which the altar is the sarcophagus of a martyr.
- E. Luminarium.
- F F F. Other burial-vaults.



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XXV.

NATURAL SECTION OF S. CYRIACA.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXV.

NATURAL SECTION OF S. CYRIACA.

THIS subject has already been partially shewn in Plate I., as it appeared in 1870, but the process of enlarging the present cemetery of S. Lorenzo has been continued down to 1875, and some more of the hill has been cut away, bringing to light other remains of the ancient cemetery long concealed in that hill. This gives a better idea of the manner in which these ancient cemeteries were made than any architect's drawing could do. We see here the corridors or streets ascending and descending, as the tufa rock was hard or soft; the *loculi* for single bodies cut on each side of this passage, the *arco-solia* for the burial of man and wife, and the *cubicula* for family burial-vaults.

CATACOMB OF S. CYRIACA.—NATURAL SECTION.



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XXVI.

CHURCH OF S. URBAN, OR S. URBANO
A LA CAFFARELLA.

VIEW OF THE INTERIOR.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXVI.

CHURCH OF S. URBAN, OR S. URBANO A LA CAFFARELLA.

VIEW OF THE INTERIOR.

WHATEVER the original use of this building may have been, respecting which there are different opinions (see p. 141), it is so close to part of the great catacomb or cemetery of the family of Prætextatus, and there is so much probability of its having been a tomb over one of the entrances to it, that the account of that catacomb would be hardly complete without it. One of the many names given to this great catacomb or cemetery is S. Urban, probably because that martyr was interred in one of the *cubicula*, and it is very probable also that the steps under the altar of the church descended into it. Some of the tombs on the Via Appia and the Via Latina are as large as this, and one over the well-known painted chambers on the Via Latina has also a portico to it, as this has. The paintings indicated in the view are those attributed to the hermit Bonozio, in 1011, upon an inscription, and they have very much the same character as the later pictures in some of the Catacombs. The pictures at the two ends have been restored, those on the sides are genuine, and are of the usual Scriptural subjects; a whole series of engravings would be necessary to illustrate them, and this has been done in a separate work by Canina.

CHURCH OF S. URBAN



VIEW OF THE INTERIOR



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XXVII.

CHURCH OF S. URBAN.

CONFESSIO UNDER THE ALTAR, AND FRESKO PAINTING IN IT.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXVII.

CHURCH OF S. URBAN.

CONFESSIO UNDER THE ALTAR, AND FRESCO PAINTING IN IT.

THIS small chapel is very much deeper than the confessio usually is, and has all the appearance of having been made on the staircase descending into a catacomb, in a similar manner to the chapel on the stairs to the Platonica at S. Sebastian's (see Plate XXI.). The steps have all the appearance of going further down, though the passage is stopped by a wall built across it. The painting over the chantry-altar is unusually well preserved, and is one of the best of the later catacomb pictures. In the centre is the Madonna, with Christ as a boy, with the cruciform nimbus, not as an infant; this is after the Byzantine fashion, as at Ravenna. On her right is S. Urban, with a jewelled book in his hand; on her left, S. John, with another book of the same kind, probably both intended for the Gospels. The drawing of these figures agrees with the time of Pascal I. and of Charles the Great, when there was a great revival in Rome, and when many of the catacombs were restored and altered. The probable communication between this and the Catacomb of Prætextatus has been shewn in another Plate (IX.), with a plan of the district.

CHURCH OF S. URBAN



Fresco PAINTING AND CONFESSIO

THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XXVIII.

PLAN OF S. CALIXTUS.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXVIII.

PLAN OF S. CALIXTUS.

A A. VIA Appia.

B. Pagan tomb at the entrance; from this a steep staircase descends into the Catacomb, and seems to have been one of the original entrances, but is not now used.

C. A modern staircase at the entrance, now used.

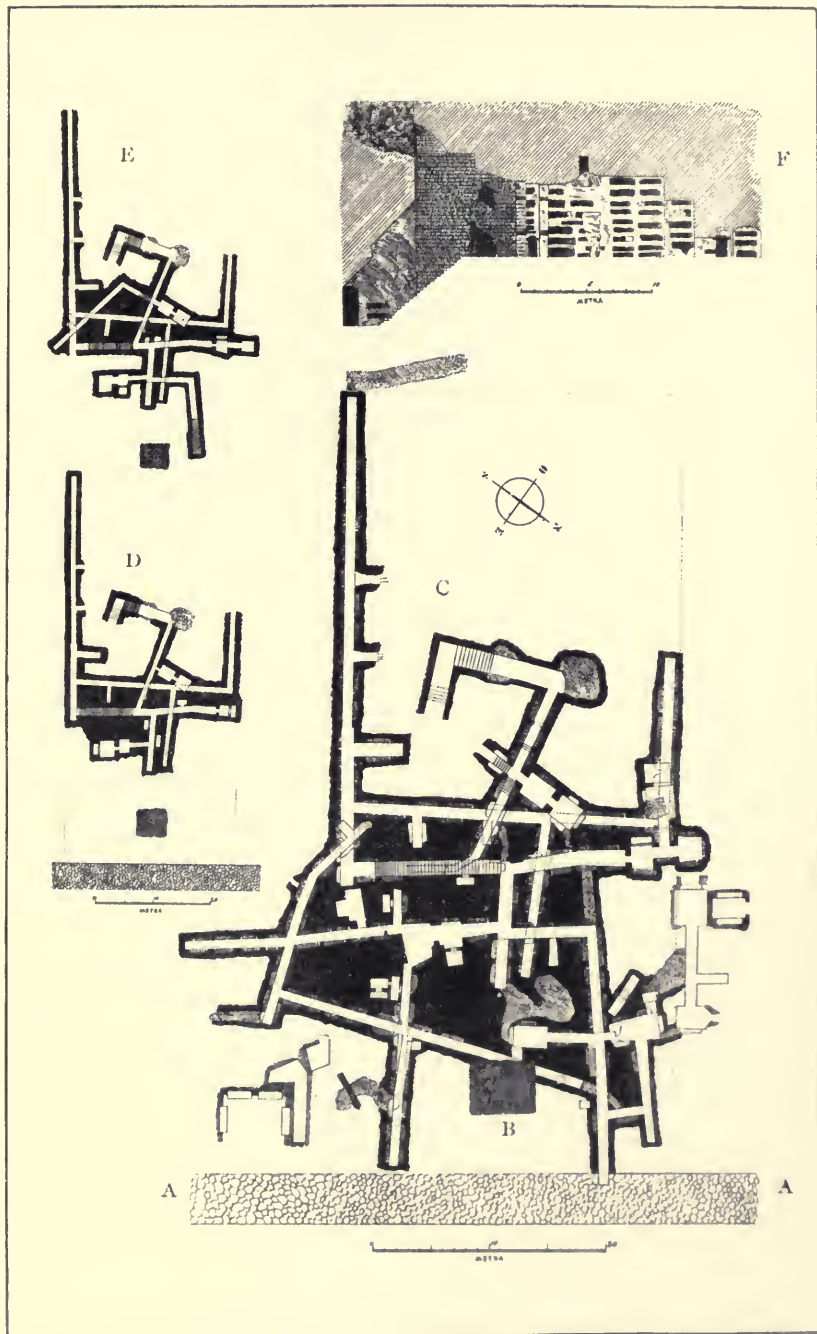
D. A second floor under C.

E. A third floor under C and D.

F. Sections of this part of the Catacomb.

The line of pavement of the Via Appia is shewn in the foreground; one of the corridors appears to pass under the road, but it has not been excavated any further. It is the opinion of some persons who have given attention to the subject, that there was at one period a connection with the great cemetery of Prætextatus on the other side of the great road, and that all these were connected by subterranean passages with S. Sebastian's, which formed a general entrance to the whole; but there is no evidence of this now visible; and De Rossi, whose opinion carries great weight, does not believe that there ever was any such general entrance for this whole district.

CATACOMB OF S. CALIXTUS.—PLAN.



THE CATACOMBS.

PLATE XXIX.

S. GENNARO, OR JANUARIUS, AT NAPLES.

PLAN.

THE CATACOMBS.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXIX.

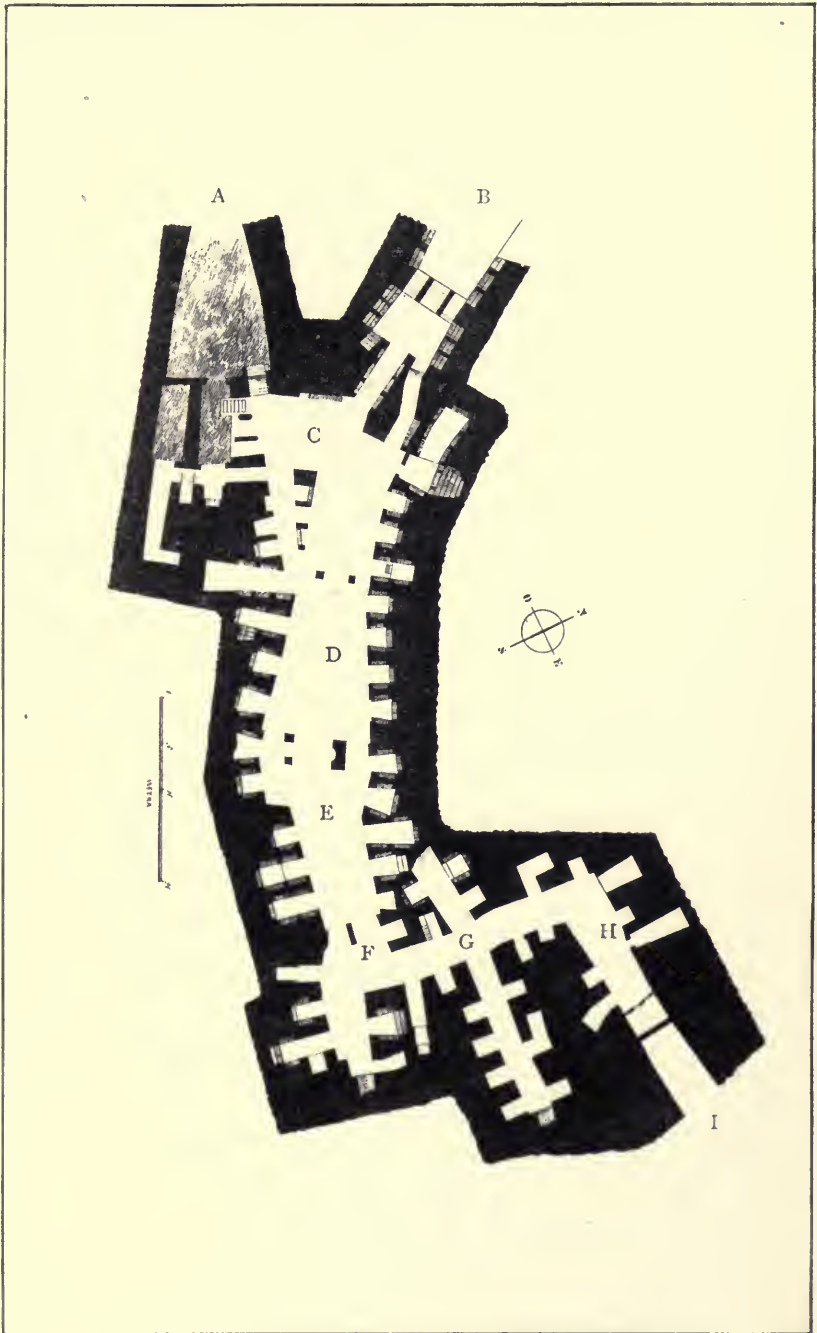
S. GENNARO, OR JANUARIUS, AT NAPLES.

PLAN. (See p. 125.)

- A. LARGE hall, now used as the entrance.
- B. Entrance from the church, not now used.
- C, D, E, F. Halls cut out of the rock.
- G, H. Corridors or streets.
- I. Passage now passing under houses.

The *arco-solia*, or sepulchral recesses, and the *cubicula* for family burial-vaults in these Catacombs, are seen on all sides on the Plan. This catacomb being made in an old stone-quarry of hard stone, they are not merely low corridors, as in the tufa of Rome, but lofty halls with the graves cut in the walls. The effect is much finer than in those of Rome, but there is not the same historical interest attached to it. The paintings are of very similar character to those of Rome, but rather finer and better art in general, though of about the same period.

CATACOMBS AT NAPLES.—PLAN.



THE CATACOMBS.

GILT GLASS VASES.

THE CATACOMBS—GILT GLASS VASES.

PLATE I.

THESE vases being now all preserved in museums, it is almost impossible to ascertain from which catacomb each had come. There are seldom any catalogues of the museum to be had, and the keepers themselves frequently do not know from which catacomb each has come. We have therefore only the style of drawing as our guide to their dates, but as the mosaic pictures in the churches are all dated by inscriptions, or by the figures of the Popes who have given them, and the style of drawing of each century is the same whether executed in mosaics or in frescoes, we can arrive pretty nearly at the date of each. The subjects are so generally the same as those of the frescoes in the catacombs, that one throws great light upon the other. That these vases were found in the catacombs by Bosio and those who worked with him, in the sixteenth century, there is no doubt, and they were very soon collected in museums. Others were found in the beginning of the eighteenth century by Boldetti, who published a work on the Catacombs in 1718, and a few may still be met with occasionally for sale. That the Lombards, who, according to Anastasius, *annihilated the Catacombs* in the seventh century, should have respected the gilt glass vases found there, is incredible. The greater part of those found in the sixteenth century must have been the imitations made by the popes and the priests for the pilgrims in the eighth and ninth centuries, and the drawings generally agree with that period better than any other. The corrupt mode of spelling the name of Jesus, as ZESSES, also indicates a very ignorant age, such as the ninth century. These gilt figures, it may be as well to mention, are on the flat bottom of the round vases. The upper one of these plates has the head of Christ in the centre, with miracles round it. The three upper figures are the youths in the "burning fiery furnace;" to the right is the paralytic carrying his bed; beneath that is Christ with the rod of power, performing the miracles. On the opposite side is Christ again with the rod, performing the miracle of the water changed into wine at the marriage of Cana; and below these two is Tobias, with the fish in his left hand, the right hand raised in the attitude of speaking. The lower vase has Moses striking the rock, and the inscription round it—

CVM TVIS PIE ZESSES IN DEO HILARIS.

"All faithful people in God rejoice."



PLATE II.

THE subjects represented in these two vases are parts of the history of *Jonas*. In the upper picture he is thrown overboard from the ship, on which again is ZESES, and is received in the mouth of a great fish, which in the English version of the Bible is called whale, and in the Vulgate a sea serpent.

The lower picture is Jonah under the *gourd*, according to the English version; or the *ivy-bush*, according to the Vulgate. The drawing of both agrees with the eighth or ninth centuries.

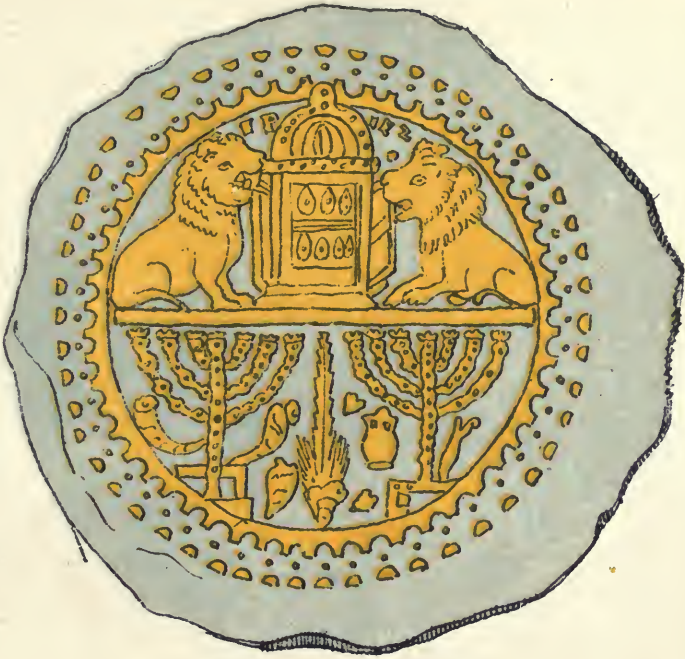


THE CATACOMBS—GILT GLASS VASES.

PLATE III.

THESE two vases may *perhaps* be as early as the fifth century; the upper one must have come from the Jews' Catacombs, as the subject is the Ark, guarded by the lions of Israel and Judah, under which are two of the seven-branched candlesticks, and a fish between them, also a jug or vessel for the holy oil, a horn, and leaves. The lower vase has the Good Shepherd, with the inscription—

DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS CVM TVIS FELICITER.



VATICAN - VATICAN

PLATE IV.

THE two vases in this plate have each a representation of one of the miracles of our Lord; the upper one is the Miracle of the Loaves, with the seven baskets of fragments, the figure of Christ in the middle, with a nimbus round His head, and the rod of power in His hand; round the margins are the words ZESVS CRISTV.

The lower one is the Raising of Lazarus. In this the figure of Christ is without the nimbus. He has the rod of power in His right hand, and holds up the folds of His cloak with the left. The figure of Lazarus is wrapped up in swaddling-clothes, and lying on the steps of the tomb, which is represented as a small temple (this is common in the Middle Ages). Over the head are the words ZESVS CRISTVS.



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PLATE V.

OF these two vases the upper one represents the blessed Virgin MARIA between PETRVS and PAVLVS, with the names over their heads. Maria is represented as of about double the size of the other two, an indication of its late date, as this was the medieval idea of expressing grandeur. The two figures seem more likely to be intended for the two local saints of these names, Peter the Exorcist and Paul the Deacon, who were martyrs in the last great persecution, not the Apostles.

The lower picture is of the busts of PETRVS and PAVLVS, with the crown of martyrdom suspended between them. In this picture the two heads have beards. Paul is bald, with a long beard, Peter has hair on his head and a short beard. In the upper picture they are represented as boys.

It has been suggested that in these four vases we have the life of the great Apostles represented at different ages. In the first as boys, under the protection of Maria, or the Church(?), (v. 1): then as elder youths, preparing for the crown of martyrdom, (vi. 1): then as old men, with their crowns suspended over them, (v. 2): then after their martyrdom, with Christ crowning them.



PLATE VI.

ON both of these vases are figures of *PETRVS* and *PAVLVS*, with the names over their heads. In the upper picture is a laurel crown enclosing the monogram of Christ, between the heads, but the two figures are beardless youths without the nimbus; they are badly drawn, seated, attired in cloaks, with bare feet. This picture *may be* of the fifth or sixth century. Round the margin is the inscription

DIGNITAS . AMICORVM . VIVAS . CVM . TVIS . FELICITER.

The lower vase and picture is larger and in a rather different style of drawing, and the lettering is also of a different character, more like that of Plates IV. and V., and probably also of the eighth or ninth century. The two figures of Peter and Paul are venerable fathers with long beards, seated, and wrapped in cloaks, with bare feet, as in the upper one. Between the heads of these two figures is a smaller figure of Christ, with the plain crown of martyrdom in each hand, which He is about to place on the heads of the Apostles. S. Paul is represented with bald head; S. Peter has a good deal of hair. They are on the opposite sides from what they are in Plate II. Over the central figure is the name *CRISTVS*; over that of Peter the . . . *RVVS* remains, *PET* has disappeared; on that of S. Paul the *P . .* only remains. Round the margin the inscription is broken, but a great part of it remains:

HILARIS M TVIS OMNIBV . , FELICITER SEMPER IN PACE DEI.

PLATE VII.

THE upper vase has a singular picture upon it; part of a colonnade of the composite order, with twisted flutes on the columns, and festoons hanging from one to the other; between the columns are small figures, each with a roll of parchment in his hand, signifying some work he has written. The first small figure to the left-hand has no name over it, the second has *PAVLVS* written vertically, the third *SYSTVS*, the fourth *LAVRENTIVS*. Over the colonnade is the word *PIE ZESES*. Below the colonnade are three half-length figures, with their names: the first on the left hand is *IPPOLITVS*, the central figure *CRISTVS*, the third *TIMOTEVS*. Christ has a roll or book in his hand, Timotheus has one behind his shoulders, probably to signify the epistle sent to him by S. Paul; they all have short beards and are bald. This picture is different from the others, and may be of the sixth century.

The lower picture has three figures; the central one is a lady richly attired in the costume of the eighth or ninth century, wearing a cap, and with the hands uplifted in the oriental attitude of prayer; over her head is the name *AGNES*. This figure reminds us of the fine mosaic picture over the altar in her church near Rome, over her catacomb, which is of the seventh century. On her right hand is a figure, with the right hand in the attitude of speaking, and He appears to wear a wig; His feet are bare; by His side is the name *CRISTVS*. On the other side is a small figure, but with the hands crossed, and one holding a roll, and by the side the name *LAVRENTIVS*. The manner in which the figure of Christ is mixed up with that of Saints, as if all on the same level, appears very irreverent in the eyes of an Anglo-Catholic.



AP. SANLEMENTI — AP. OLIVERI

PLATE VIII.

THESE two vases are distinctly pagan although found in the catacombs, and therefore affording strong evidence that these cemeteries were not *exclusively* Christian. In the upper picture are two half-length figures, the right-hand is a male, the left-hand female. Their costume is singular and very much alike, both seem to wear a cloak crossed over the breast; the lady has a necklace, with jewels hanging from it. Between them is a small idol upon a round table or stand for it, he carries a club and a lion's skin and head, the usual attributes of Hercules. Over the shoulders of the figures is an inscription written in a singular manner, the words divided to fit the spaces :

AGERENT INFELICES BIBATIS.

Round the margin are the words—

IN NOMINE HERCVLIŒ ORFITUS ET CONSTANTIA.

The lower picture is evidently the Three Graces in an engrailed border, and the words—

CELASIA LECORI COMASIA IS ANNIS PIETEZES ET EMVLT VIVATIS.

THE
CATACOMBS

OF
ROME.

BY

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